

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

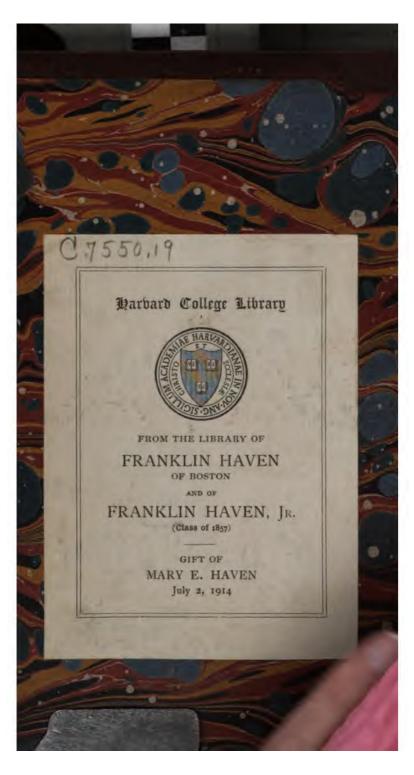
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

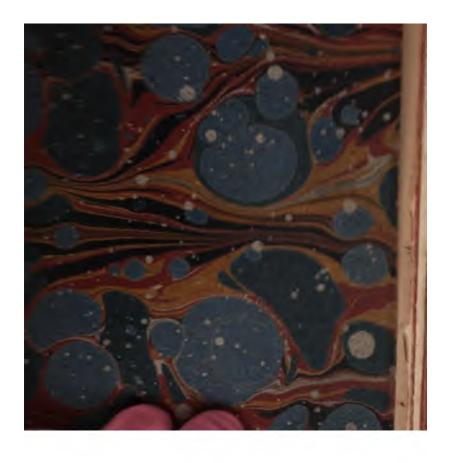
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + Refrain from automated querying Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

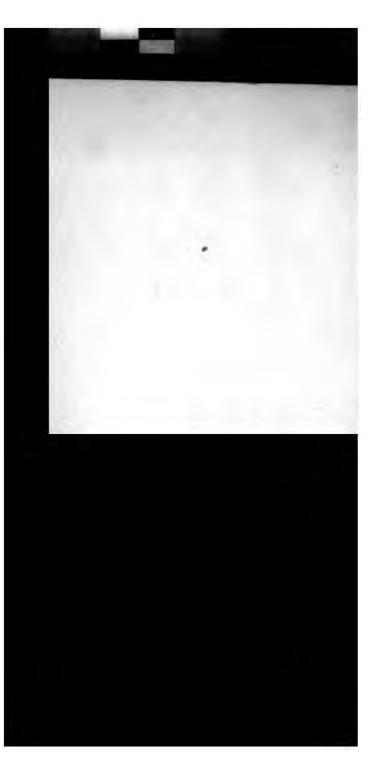
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/











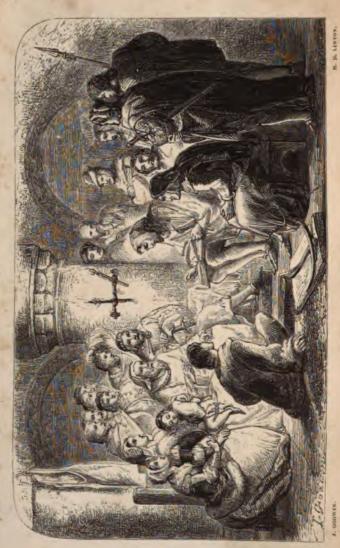
Ù

fadies of the Reformation.

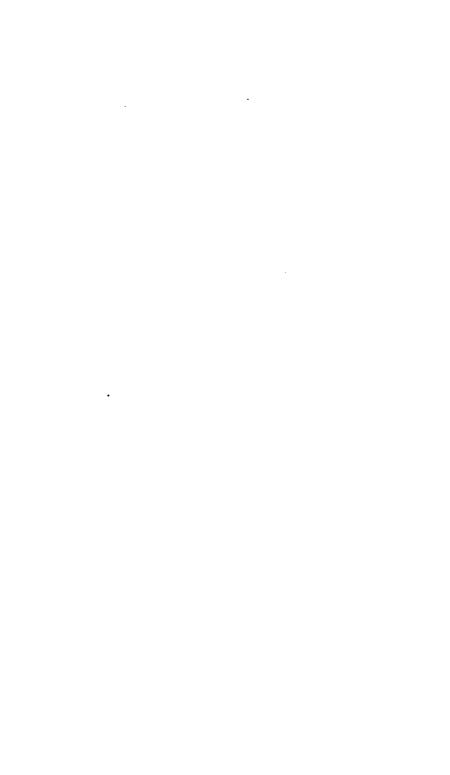
















LADIES

OF

HE REFORMATION.

MEMOIRS OF

MSTINGUISHED FEMALE CHARACTERS,

BFLONGING TO THE PERIOD OF

THE REFORMATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BT THE

REV. JAMES ANDERSON,

LLUSTRATED BY J. GODWIN, J. W. ARCHER, &c.

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND THE NETHERLANDS.



BLACKIE AND SON:
1 NDON, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, AND NEW YORK.



PREFACE.

Is resolution, since the age of Christ and his apostles, can be comand in magnitude and beneficial results with that of the Reformais Europe in the 16th century. By elevating the authority of Sered Scriptures above human authority, and asserting the at of every man to judge of their contents for himself, it released s human mind from the fetters of Popish implicit faith, and wired it to the free exercise of its powers. It was thus to the ad of man like a resurrection from the dead; and from the terrible at it gave to the Papacy, wherever established, entirely overthrowthat system in some countries, together with its powerful influence strancing civil liberty, commerce, science, and literature, it forms semmencement of a new era in the history of Europe. From events in England, particularly from the progress of Oxford carianism, and the Papal aggressions, the study of this great whation has become anew important, that, under a deeper impresa of the blowings we have derived from it, our gratitude may be first to the Great Ruler of the church and the world, to

composition of the present work.

of distinguished females in the pr
supported or contributed to this
action, or heroic suffering, when a
Reformation exposed them to pe
hitherto been written, though the
engaged the pen of the biographer,
an opportunity of presenting var
history of the Reformation in a son
of introducing notices of the ch
episodes in real life, altogether or
upon, in general history, though
romantic interest.

The amount of materials for such different lives. In some it is scant is so voluminous that a single life to a volume. In the composition which are most about 1.

practicable he has consulted the original sources of information, the rest importance of which must be obvious to all conversant with interical inquiry.

These memoirs being in a great measure historical, it seemed messary to their being the more clearly understood, that the maler should have placed before him the contemporaneous events and characters with which the subjects of the memoirs were contest. This information the author has endeavoured to supply, sentimes in the course of the lives themselves, and, as this was not always practicable without too great a digression from the point in hand, at other times in the general introductions prefixed to the biographies under each country, which embrace, for the most set, a general view of the history of the Reformation in the respective countries to which they relate. This, it is hoped, will leave the material no loss as to the general course of the events of the period, as far as connected with the ladies brought under review.

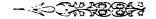
Had the author's limits permitted, he would have included under a English portion notices of some of the female martyrs who always during the reign of Queen Mary, and under the Netherlands of notices of several other females who underwent martyrdom that country. Multitudes of the tender sex in these, as well in other parts of Europe, thus signalized themselves for God; if the martyrology has preserved the memorials of the martyrology has preserved the names of by far the number have not been transmitted to posterity, and are to send recorded only in the registers of the Lamb under the The author's object has not been to write a martyrology;

better in this respect than Romanists-int being a characteristic of the age, not pecul party or religious system. But this is to which the facts of the case, when fully and it no warrant. For, first, all the instances of when put together, dwindle into insignifican the dreadful details of the cruelties of the multitudes whose lives it has sacrificed, an estimated, since its first rise, to upwards of Secondly, while persecution in no party is merited censure and opprobrium, it is to be 1 testants had come out of a persecuting church rance of which they were in some instances ; to the lessons they had received from Rome sible for it. And, thirdly, what the reader sl intolerance is at variance with one of the func Protestantism—the principle that every man for himself in matters of religion - -

imply from the depraved impulses of man's nature, from tempocary fitful outbursts of popular fury, or from the violence of certain accious individuals, but from the teachings of the Popish religious system. The principles of Protestantism, when acted upon, inevitably and to teleration; those of Popery, when acted upon, as inevitably and to persecution.

The characters whose lives are here narrated, the author presents to the public rather as the representatives of the great leading principles of the Reformation against Popery, than as the supparticular denomination of Protestantism, for they belonged to Protestants of different shades of opinions. In the programme of the ecclesiastical condition of Christendom during the reign of Antichrist, given in the Apocalypse, the Spirit of God no note of the differences and divisions among the Reformers, deembing only two parties-Antichrist, and those ranked on the Lamb's is epposition to Antichrist-by which he seems to teach us that arnest, intelligent, and faithful witnesses against this the great enemy of Christ, would be found among the various parties of the Reformed Chara, though these parties should not all be reformed to the same estent. By this principle the author has been guided in selecting marrating the lives of these ladies. Differing as they necessarily be in intellectual powers, in opportunities of religious improvement, a digent inquiry, and in the circumstances in which they were they were not equally enlightened in their views of divine trath and they held different sentiments on some religious points. he ther were united on many great important truths revealed in God's Word, which are denied or corrupted by Popery; and they The author has only to add, that I biographical sketches in another volum of the Reformation in Germany, Swit Spain.

EDINBURGH, November 14, 1854.



CONTENTS.

										Page
Person,		+	Ψ.	44	100	*		14	1	¥
Let us ILLESTRATES	ons,							*		xiii
LADIES	OF TE	IE R	EFOI	MAT	ION	IN E	NGLA	ND.		
Imenutation, .							*			1
ARE OF BOHEMIA,	queen o	f Rich	ard II	.,						33
ATRE BOLEYN, SCOOL	nd queen	of H	enry	VIII.,	2.11					57
last Askew, daugh	hter of S	Sir Wi	lliam	Askey	v, knij	ght, of	Kelse	y.		136
LITERATURE PARE, S					77					180
LEST JANE GREY,							-			244
Consume Willow	онву,	Duche	ss of S	Suffolk						315
ing of Territar,	wife of	Bisho	p Hoo	per,						365
CATHARINE VERMIN	AA, wife	of Pe	ter M	artyr,						400
NESS ELIZABETH,						6				418
Insuen Cooke, Le	ady Bur	ghley,								461
ITER COOKE, Lady		-		i.				4		484
LADIES	OF TH	E RE	FOR	MATI	ON I	IN SC	OTLA	ND.		
sneecmes,										513
GTEARNE HAMIL	row, aist	er of 1	Patric	k Han	ailton,	the n	artyr,			523
Ings STARK, wife	of Jam	es Ran	oldso	n,						528
SAMEL SCHOOLINGS !	wife of I	tichard	Mel	ville,						535
Disamera Aska, v	rife of 1	Richar	d Bow	res, an	d Ma	RJORY	Bowns	, wife	of	
John Knox,										540
EDITABETH CAMPBE	LL, wife	of Ro	bert !	Campb	ell, of	Kiny	eancle	igh,		551
BIRLINGE KNOX, V										563

MRS. ROBERT OGUIER, of the town of Lisle, Betken, maid-servant to Peter van Kulen, goldsr ELIZABETH VANDER KERK, widow of Adam van 1 CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON, Princess of Orange, LOUISE DE COLLIGNY, Lady Teligny, afterwards I APPENDIX, Anne Boleyn's Letter to Henry VIII., from the Popish Plots against Anne Boleyn, Lady Jane Grey's Letter to her father, written t execution, Lady Jane Grey's Letter to her sister, Lady Katl evening before her execution, in the end of th ment which she sent to Lady Katharine, Notice of Lady Katharine Grey, sister of Lady Js Notice of Ladies Anne, Margaret, and Jane Seymo ward Seymour, Duke of Somerset,

Maria van Reigersberg, wife of Hugo Grotius. A liberated Grotius from prison,

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

LADIES OF THE REPORMATION IN ENGLAND.

,	rengilismen.	Jagrana.	Pager
THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION, Proatispiece.	Godwin.	Linton.	
AN ALLBOOKY, * Engraved Title.	Godwin.	Vizetelly.	
Ommutal hading to Prefact,	Humphreys.	Bolton.	•
Ommutal heading to Introduction,	Hampkreys.	Bolton.	1
Tall-pince-Prenching Cross, Hereford,	Jewitt.	Jowitt.	81
Tunh of Richard II. and Anne of Bohemin, in Westminster			
Abbry, as now existing,	Archer.	Williams.	33
Border and Ornemental Initial-letter,	Humphreys.	Bolton.	83
Curt Costume, time of Richard II.,	Archer.	Bolton.	39
Latterworth Church, Leicestershire, as now existing,	Archer.	Williams.	48
Erer Cartle, Kent, as now existing,	Archer.	Bolton.	57
Fact of the Gallery in Hever Castle,	Archer.	Bolton.	66
Exacte presented by Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, .	Folkard.	Polkard.	73
Man Gaussford and Zouch, her lover,	Godwin.	Linton.	76
To Papa, Tiara,	Folkard.	Folkard.	79
Tur English House, Antwerp,	Archer.	Bolton.	88
R. Mary's Abbey, York, as now existing	Archer.	Bolton.	94
Ame Borya and Matthew Parker,	Godwin.	Linton.	103
ALLEST OF ANNE BOLETN,	Godwin.	Linton.	104
Azze Boleyn a prisoner at the Gate of the Tower,	Godwin.	Linton.	105
hat of the Marten Tower, as now existing,	Archer.	Bolton.	107
TRIAL OF ARRE BOLETN,	Godwin.	Linton.	117

Te speri of religion encouraging and consoling adherents to the reformed faith, under i-m at perventions. The stake, accessories, and the monk officiating in the double capacity of part and executioner, typefy the means resorted to for the subjugation of heretics. The typer person of the design depicts the apotheous of a martyr.

Ornamental Heading to Introduction,	
Tail-piece—Halberts of the period,	
Ornamental Heading and Initial-letter,	
Wendelmuta Klass and the Dominican Friars,	
Antwerp Cathedral, from the Egg Market,	
Ornamental Heading,	
Mrs. Oguier and her Son,	
Tail-piece—Ancient Staircase,	
Ornamental Heading,	
The Townhall, Utrecht, as now existing,	
Ornamental Heading,	
-	
Charlotte de Bourbon instructing the Nuns of Jour	ı
<u> </u>	
Charlotte de Bourbon instructing the Nuns of Jour The Town and Castle of Heidelberg, as now existing Charlotte tending the wounded Prince of Orange,	g
The Town and Castle of Heidelberg, as now existing	g
The Town and Castle of Heidelberg, as now existing Charlotte tending the wounded Prince of Orange,	g
The Town and Castle of Heidelberg, as now existing Charlotte tending the wounded Prince of Orange, Tail-piece—Ancient Lettern,	g
The Town and Castle of Heidelberg, as now existing Charlotte tending the wounded Prince of Orange, Tail-piece—Ancient Lettern,	
The Town and Castle of Heidelberg, as now existing Charlotte tending the wounded Prince of Orange, Tail-piece—Ancient Lettern,	g
The Town and Castle of Heidelberg, as now existing Charlotte tending the wounded Prince of Orange, Tail-piece—Ancient Lettern,	
The Town and Castle of Heidelberg, as now existing Charlotte tending the wounded Prince of Orange, Tail-piece—Ancient Lettern,	
The Town and Castle of Heidelberg, as now existing Charlotte tending the wounded Prince of Orange, Tail-piece—Ancient Lettern,	s



By the same Author,

LADIES OF THE COVENANT.

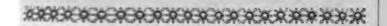
MEMOIRS OF

DISTINGUISHED SCOTTISH FEMALE CHARACTERS,

BERLICING THE

PERIOD OF THE COVENANT AND THE PERSECUTION.

		•	



Ü

Zadies of the Reformation

IN ENGLAND.





"We were Pharach's bondmen in Egypt, and the mighty hand " (Deuteronomy vi. 21).

"What we have heard and known, and our fathers he children, showing to the generation to come the prais his wonderful works that he hath done" (Psalm LEXVII





INTRODUCTION.

HE first of the subjects of the biographical sketches included in this division of our work carries us back to the times of John Wickliffe. The others lived in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. We shall therefore, in introthem to the reader, touch upon the instrumentality of them to the reader, touch upon the instrumentality of the prominent features of the reigns of these sovereigns, addred particularly in their relation to the struggles of the remation in England, with the history of which the lives of these are more or less connected, and a cause which all of them had made or supported from conviction, though not with equal zeal intelligence, nor with the same spirit of self-sacrifice.

be Reformation in England in the sixteenth century was not an best for which there had been no previous preparation. Revolua generally seem to the superficial observer to happen abruptly, they are always the effect of causes which, though hidden and wised, have been previously in operation, preparing the way for great catastrophe. These causes, like those in operation in the small world, may work slowly and by insensible degrees, and there

had such influence, that without then causes could not have produced the resuldate causes, there will often appear suthem and the effects produced, as to excit events should be brought to pass by so examine the subject more minutely, we will also causes have been indebted for the preceding causes. It was so in regard to as well as in Germany.

To go no farther back than the fourte influences set at work by Providence in Reformation which signalized the reign glance at the labours of John Wickliffe intended by Providence to have somethin the Reformation as the seed-time to the into public view, his predecessors in t Bradwardine, and others, had gone to the he entered. The work they had left I energy and success. From the theologic divinity at Oxford, and from the pulpit, Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, he bold pretensions of the Pope and the Papa doctrines of Popery, and proclaimed the

as in itself an important step in the cause of the Reformation. may portions of the Bible had been translated into English before a time, but to translate them for general circulation appears never to are been contemplated by the translators, and the translations were merally buried in the library of some man of wealth, or in some mastery. It was Wickliffe who first took down the Bible from the bilf, and shook off the dust with which it had been covered for ages, it might become common property. Was it not Heaven's great to the whole human family? Why then should it be sealed up an unknown tongue? Why should it not be translated into bglish that his countrymen might be able to read in their own aguage the wonderful works of God? To do this would be doing worth living for, something for his generation, and somefor posterity. Such were the thoughts which filled his mind, tel he diligently set himself to the task, which, after the labour many years, he completed about 1380. These combined labours induced great effects. His opinions infected not a few of the parotial dergy, the University of Oxford, many of the aristocracy, and mititades of the common people. So numerous were his converts, ma in his own day, that, according to the testimony of a popish starting like saplings from the root of a tree, they were multiplied, and filled every place within the compass of the After his death his doctrines continued to spread throughout larland, notwithstanding the efforts of the adversaries to suppress the. His various writings, and especially his translation of the sciptures, both the whole of it and copies of particular parts, were multiplied by transcription, as they had been during his lifetime, the emems being defrayed by persons of rank and wealth, and they were the making many converts. A single copy of the Scriptures, redeathed portions, would serve the inquirers of a whole district, win in times of persecution would assemble in some friendly house where the manuscript was secreted, and where, drawn from its place domonlment, it was read by one of their number to the company, who listened with eager and devout attention. This continued even individual—to prepare the way for the and overthrew the Papal system in Eng. He was the voice of one crying in the way of the Lord." He was "the morni Had circumstances been as favourable i century as they were in Germany in the this great man would have achieved for Luther did for the latter.

That step by which Henry VIII. separa jurisdiction, is, from its important influe England, deserving of special attention, at some of the leading facts connected wi

In the beginning of the year 1527, if not began seriously to contemplate a divorce of Aragon, the widow of his brother Artl of scruples of conscience as to the lawfulne with a sister-in-law; but his real motives were his decayed affection for Katharine, i beauty and declining health, and his pass to succeed him, a felicity he could not expeas he was hopeless of more issue by his pass to succeed him, a felicity he could not expeas he was hopeless of more issue by his pass to succeed him, a felicity he could not expeas he was hopeless of more issue by his pass to succeed him, a felicity he could not expeas he was hopeless of more issue by his pass to succeed him, a felicity he could not expeas he was hopeless of more issue by his pass to succeed him, a felicity he could not expeas he was hopeless of more issue by his pass to succeed him, a felicity he could not expeas he was hopeless.

he was the author of the project to the French ambassador, Bellay, at a time (October, 1528) when he was not likely to have made the declaration, had it not been true, for then the subject had become so embarrassing as to occasion serious regret to all concerned that it had over been stirred. The suggestion was made to Henry in the year 1526; and to strengthen him against Charles V., by allying him to Francis I. of France, Wolsey's plan was that his master should marry Margaret of Valois, sister of Francis, and at that time widow of the Duke of Alençon. In March, that year, we find him directing the attention of Henry to this princess, and he also procured her portrait for the inspection of the amorous monarch.

When the question was first presented to the attention of Pope Conset VIL, in 1527, during his imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo by the imperial army, which had taken Rome by storm, resting his hopes of being restored to freedom upon the sovereigns of larland and France, he professed the most cordial desire to gratify Heary's inclinations." But after Charles, with the view of engaging he to thwart Henry in his wished-for divorce, had determined to retare him to liberty, circumstances being changed, new motives peraled on his mind, and entirely revolutionized his sentiments in regard to the divorce. Perceiving that the emperor was full of mentment at Henry's proposal of degrading Katharine of Aragon, lis ment, and would on no account consent to the divorce, he dreaded laving any hand in a transaction which might bring upon him anew wrath of the emperor, whose unscrupulous power he had so recently He besides became afterwards bound to Charles by the very advantageous treaty into which he entered at Barcelona,

Turner's History of the Reign of Henry VIII., vol. ii., pp. 139-149.

Bibertaon's History of Charles V., book v.

That such were the feelings of the Pope, appears from the following passage of a feeling his secretary, Sangs, to Campeggio, dated Viterbo, 2d September, 1528, and Campeggio was preparing to go to England as the Pope's legate about the affair the Severe, and the triumph just gained by the arms of Charles V., in Italy, over the second second give additional intensity to these feelings:—"Our lord the last Presses, would give additional intensity to these feelings:—"Our lord the

neither of whose favour he was willing to a come to no decision on the question of the d to a procrastinating and duping policy, alt by promises, and discouraged him by r times to grant him all when he intended to to hold the divorce in suspense, convinced t sentence agreeable to the one sovereign, thirreconcilable enemy.

Irritated at the tergiversation and delay ting the papal authority at defiance, settled tated question, by marrying Anne Boleyn in 1533. On the 23d of May, Cranmer, Arcia a court held at Dunstable, pronounced not on the former marriage, to the effect, that contrary to the law of God, which forbids brother's widow, it was null, and had been on the 28th of the same month he judicia Henry's union with Anne Boleyn.

Indignant at Cranmer for presumptuous rogative, by pronouncing Katharine's marri to have ever been void, his holiness issued a judgment; and on the 11th of July, bray

mearch, he published a decree, which was affixed on the public places at Dunkirk, threatening to excommunicate him unless he separated from Anne Boleyn, and restored all things to their former state before September following. Henry instantly appealed from the Pope to a peral council lawfully called; and Cranmer, foreseeing the storm which was gathering around his own head, made a similar appeal, by the king's advice. Both appeals were transmitted to Edmund Bonafterwards Bishop of London, who had been sent as his majesty's every to the Pope, to co-operate with Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Washester, who had previously been despatched to protect his misty's interests. In November Bonner obtained an audience of the Pope, and on reading Henry's appeal, his holiness, to use the weds of Bonner, "fell in a marvellous great choler and rage, not only bearing the same by his gesture and manner, but also by words. He was continually folding up and unwinding his handkerchief, with he never doth but when he is tickled to the very heart with put sholer." He requested that the words might again be read to his upon which, " not a little chafing with himself, he asked what I lad more." Two days after, Bonner returned to the Pontiff, to receive In server as to his majesty's appeal. He had to wait two hours, during which his holiness was engaged in the very laudable and edifybe compation of " blessing beads, and suffering ladies and nobles to lish his foot," and then he received an answer expressed in a tone of county, but yet in a manner indicating suppressed resentment. "My mind towards his highness," said he, "always hath been to minister sales, and do pleasure unto him, although it hath not been so taken. I merer unjustly grieved his grace that I know, nor intend hereafter b do; but as there is a constitution of Pope Pius, my predecessor, dat doth condemn all such appeals, I therefore do reject his grace's speal as frivolous, forbidden, and unlawful." Bonner had an addi-

His appeal is dated 30th July, 1533. It is printed in Rymer's Fædera, vol.

Bearing History of the Reformation in England, Oxford, 1816, vol. vi., pp. 54, 58,

he afterwards doomed so many without precipitate escape." 2

In his irritation at the Pope, Henry, effecting a reconciliation between them w Parliament in January, 1534, and got it to tive of the papal authority in England. I that hereafter no appeals should be made that all causes ecclesiastical should be jud the realm; that first-fruits, annates or St. 1 longer paid to the See of Rome; nor palls, any kind procured from thence; that mona to the visitation and government of the l heresy to call in question the Pope's au Bishop of Salisbury, and Ghinucci, Bishop should be deprived of their bishoprics, as resident. In the same Parliament the n Katharine of Aragon was declared to be annulling it ratified, the marriage of the ki firmed, the succession to the crown settled or and an oath in favour of this succession wa penalty of imprisonment during the king's of goods. On the 30th of March the Parlis of November, and, what was ominous of the times, during the whole seems a bishop had preached at St. Paul's cross in condemnation of the Pope's authority in England.

The variance between Henry and the Pope was, however, not yet deperate. Some prospect of a speedy amicable adjustment still presected itself. By the interposition of Francis I., in an interview with the Pope at Marseilles, in October 1533, his holiness promised to personnee the desired sentence of divorce, if Henry sent a proxy to have and submitted his cause to the Roman See. Cardinal John bellay, Bishop of Paris, being immediately despatched by Francis to Lendon with the communication, succeeded in obtaining from Heary a promise of submission, provided the cardinals of the empenr's faction were excluded from the Roman consistory. Bellay beried to Rome to lay Henry's terms before the Pope, who expressed is readiness to accept them, but required that they should be drawn at in writing and subscribed by Henry, and fixed a certain day for the return of the messenger with the signed agreement. Thus a peaceful conclusion to this long and serious difference seemed to be But mark how great revolutions often turn on some slender The messenger having been detained, did not arrive with the document at the appointed day; and certain reports had in the mantime reached the Vatican, "that a libel had been published in lagland against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king a derision of the Pope and cardinals." This roused the fury of these missiastical dignitaries, and yet the Pope from timidity was reluctant to proceed to extremity, but yielding to his cardinals, he pronounced a sarlave, March 23, 1534, twenty-two cardinals being present, a final sentence, that Henry's marriage with Katharine of Aragon was valid and canonical; that he was bound to cohabit with her as be wife; that he should be compelled to do so; that all molestations spinst this marriage were unlawful; and that he should be for ever

¹ Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII., London, 1649, fol., pp. 371, 372.

vnich he had been hurried, and brains in the attempt to devise a have suggested the recalling of the this without in the very act knocking the head. He survived his fatuous of having died on the 25th September, had the mortification to see his eccles in England.2 The effect of his sentence don, was most exasperating. Books press, to prove that the ecclesiastical Pope is a usurpation. Even the monar ness, and entered the field as a polem met in November, the decisive blow w papal supremacy in England, and enac taken, accepted, and reputed the only ar the church" within his own dominions.4 which bound England to the foot of the Parliament it was enacted, that after t would be treason for any person to ca matic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper.

It is interesting and instructive to ma

¹ On the 8th of January the Pone had be

misse in overruling the wayward passions and actings of men citing off from England the fetters of papal despotism, and for garabout a revolution so beneficial to her, whether religiously, fally or socially considered. With this great revolution, a enscience, religion, wise and liberal views, had nothing to It was not the effect of the teaching and labours of ecclesiastical mes, or of the power of truth and patriotism on the mind of the though he has been eulogized as a "godly and melking," as "a Moses who delivered his people from the bond-" It proceeded solely from the violence of his proud, which would brook no restraint, driving him to sure, because obstructed in the gratification of his amatory by the Pope. It was what none of the actors on the stage intentemplated or desired. "Assuredly," as has been well oband that the tiara deigned to nod to the regal solicitor, then had a blender of the Faith' only given to the world another edition the book against Luther."1 Even for several years after the Pope to grant him a divorce, Henry never seriously thought of taking England loose from the papal jurisdiction; for he had no and effecting a reformation, and no desire to encourage a spirit dallows innovation. It was not till the Pope refused or shifted is brands for a divorce, denounced his marriage with Anne Boleyn und and threatened to excommunicate him unless he separated ber that Henry was driven, after a marvellous exercise of Man, considering the impetuosity of his disposition, into the bold of abolishing the papal supremacy in England. Wolsey, the injected into Henry's mind doubts as to the lawfulness of his with Katharine, and first suggested the idea of the divorce hatred to her, and to her nephew Charles V., dreamed of no atastrophe, else doubtless so zealous a supporter of the Roman to which he was not yet without hopes of being elevated, would war have made the suggestion. Gardiner and Bonner, who were

¹ D'Israeli's Amenities of Literature, vol. ii., p. 138.

The reasons of the Pope's refusal to also deserving of notice, as other links: Providence mercifully made use of in acc England. Divorces had frequently bee upon grounds less specious than those p the holy father granted the divorce so served his power and jurisdiction over Enland at this day would in all probability with the Roman See. But the dread of Charles V. prevented him, and led him mate duplicity towards Henry, whom he result of which was, that the Pope was for the game he had been playing. He was did he lament, as his successors have everich jewel in the papal tiara.

Thus Wolsey, Henry VIII., Clement governed by different motives, but none of human passions and worldly interests, w ling instruments, in the hand of Providen from papal despotism.

Having thrown off the papal authority supreme jurisdiction over the English ch secuted such, both ecclesiastics and layme news of the execution of Fisher and More caused indescribable over and indignation at the Vatican; and on the 30th of August, W. Paul III., who had succeeded Clement VII., issued a furious d of excommunication against the English monarch. The bull ceed that Henry should be deprived of all his dominions, and that and his abettors had incurred the highest penalties, and should deprived of Christian burial. It laid all places where he or his wirms should come under an interdict, and prohibited the perforand of any divine service or ceremonies in any church, monastery, space under his subjection. It pronounced his offspring by Anne blern, and the children of all his supporters, born, or to be born, inand deprived them of all possessions, liberties, and privileges, mars, offices, or property. It absolved his subjects from their Dringe. It forbade all trading and intercourse with him, or with as cities and districts that acknowledged his authority, and disaired all contracts with them. It enjoined all ecclesiastics to leave is kingdom, and commanded the nobility of England to rise up in arminst him. It disannulled all treaties with him, and called wen the sovereigns and princes of Europe to make war against him and his supporters. And it ordered the prelates to excommunicate him in their churches. The bull was posted up in Flanders, France, and Softend! Though suspended in its operation for the present, it renand if possible a reconciliation between Henry and the Vatican still Papal bulls were not now the same terrible things they had been a century or half-a-century before; and the attempt of his three years after, to give effect to this bull, by sending Cardi-Pole from Rome to foment commotions in England, entirely failed. Henry's abolition of the papal supremacy within his dominions the first great act in his reign, by which he rendered most impartant service to the cause of the Reformation in England. A second by his suppressing the monasteries, and seizing upon their pro-

Strype's Mem Eccl., vol. i , part i , pp. 511, 512.—Turner's Reign of Henry VIII.,

new order of things by the ties of self-i sanctioning the printing and circulat vulgar tongue, which prepared the mid time could generally read, for the recept by enabling them to see that these do Scriptures, while the errors of Popery

A contemporary, writing in the year account of the great change to the bett England within the course of a few be incorrect to say that this change v acts of Henry, yet each of them, and p important agency in producing it. "I "there is no realm throughout Christe urgent and necessary causes to give the lishmen have at this present. What ig in this realm concerning the true and C many [meaning how few] savoured Chris believed Christ to be the alone Saviour efficacy and power of the true and Christi death is believed to be a sufficient sacrifice The most sacred Bible is freely permitted the English tongue. Many savour Cl number increaseth; thanks be

But nothing was farther from Henry's intention than to promote edistical reformation. As his first great step proceeded from the agovernableness of his temper, the other two were taken from prinples not more reputable—to gratify an all-grasping rapacity, to trangthen his authority for maintaining the position he had taken o or from mere wayward impulse. By the plunder of the monasbries he supplied himself with money; and by dividing a large proletten of it among the nobility and gentry, he secured, by the bonds gratitude and self-interest, their loyalty, thus fortifying himself minst the popish continental states which might be disposed to make war against him for throwing off his allegiance to the Pope. And his living manctioned the dissemination of the Scriptures in the mother was very much owing to caprice, or to the influence acquired we his mind by Cranmer, who had greatly assisted him in obtainar his divorce from Katharine of Aragon. He besides granted this a loon, which, as flowing from his royal prerogative, he might whenever he pleased. He afterwards restricted the reading the Scriptures in English to a few persons, and to particular occathat "no women, except noblewomen and gentlewomen, no artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men, husbandas, or labourers, were to read them to themselves or to any other, privately or openly, on pain of one month's imprisonment." And before his death, he absolutely prohibited the possession of Indale's or Coverdale's version of the New Testament to all classes private Having, in consequence of his breach with the Pope, bethe head of a party opposed to the papal jurisdiction, he was led by the influence of some of that party who were in his confidence, and The contemplated a much farther departure from Rome than he ever to contribute in various ways to the advancement of the Reforma-But he was no Reformer, in the proper sense of the term. To speak with as such, is altogether to mistake his real character. He was imply a schismatic, a separatist. While he denounced the papal

Act of Furl. in 1543.

Catholics for maintaining, in oppos Pope was head of the universal ch cuted; they were confined in the same hurdle to Smithfield. The for the latter hanged as traitors. Po others, whom Henry cast into priso D'Aubigné justly exclaims, "He was tion in England,' as some have so fall tioner." Yet it is never to be forgotte political measures had a powerful influ tion. This is to be remembered, not as but to the praise of the Governor amon wisdom and mercy, renders, by his co of men subservient to the accomplishr During the reign of Edward VI., Reformers both in this country and call him, the Reformation was vig direction of Archbishop Cranmer, aid

¹ Luther correctly formed this estimate of the whose opposition to the Pope he speaks with the a deadlier blow to the papacy than the great "Henry VIII., king of England," says he, "is not to his essence and substance; he would suffer his soul, that is his contained."

rished foreign Protestants; and had the life of this youthful sovereign, who was only in the tenth year of his age at his accession, been spared, and the name ecclesiastical policy been persevered in, the reformed durch, as established in England, would have approximated nearer than it now does to the reformed Church of Scotland, in its worship, feeipline, and government, even as its articles of faith harmonize with the confession of that church. But his death, which took place in the 6th of July, 1553, when he was aged only fifteen years, eight maths, and twenty days, after he had reigned not quite six years and a half, arrested the work of reformation, and was followed by the overthrow of that work, accompanied by a sanguinary persecution.

After a brief struggle, caused by the usurpation of Lady Jane Grey, is ester Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VIII. by Katharine of Ingon, ascended the throne.

Mary was undoubtedly a sincere believer in the Roman Catholic migion, in which she had been strictly educated by her mother; and the validity of her mother's marriage, and consequently her own entimey and right of succession to the English throne, being bound with the Church of Rome, personal interests as well as filial piety, embined with inward conviction to attach her strongly to that that revolution in England which threw off the papal yoke, laring also, by pronouncing and dissolving as illegal the marriage letween her father and mother, labelled and pilloried her mother as be father's mistress, and herself as a bastard in the eyes of all Europe, be Reformation was contemplated by her as responsible for this afrant—this stigma, this outrageous wrong, as she believed it to bethe great body of the Reformers had nothing to do in the The Pope, on the other hand, having stood forth as the desoder of the lawfulness of her mother's marriage and of her own became endeared to her by the ties of gratitale it was venerated by her from blinded superstition. Thus her eager zeal as a Romanist, uniting with the rancorous hatred prodesired in a mind naturally sullen by a sense of wrong, made her the stern implacable enemy of the Reformation.

Upon the death of her brother, she was enthusiastically sup by the great body of the people, as being the rightful heir crown, in opposition to a noble lady of high character and accon ments, and none were more zealous in her cause than the Prote who expected, as she promised them, to enjoy toleration in th fession of their faith; a promise which, in the true spirit of P she perfidiously belied. No sooner was she securely seated of throne, than she gave distinct indications of the persecuting poli had purposed to adopt. Her appointment of Stephen Gar Bishop of Winchester, to be chancellor and her chief advise her restoration of Edmund Bonner to the bishopric of Londo of the most virulent persecutors of the reformers during the of her father, were signs of ominous import, and awakened p apprehensions in the minds of many of the reformers. Their forebodings were too truly realized. She proceeded to repe the acts of her brother's reign in favour of the reformed religi re-establish Popery, to enact persecuting laws against here restore the Pope to that supremacy of which her father had de him; and during the last years of her reign a horrible scene, must render her memory inglorious and hateful to all coming opened, delighting the Roman Catholic priesthood, but ins the great mass of the people with terror-a scene of barbarou secution against the Protestants, which, though shorter than persecutions which have raged, has hardly been surpassed in fe since the bloody reign of Dioclesian. Burning was the cor mode of putting hereties to death; and, according to one account, were consumed in the flames five bishops, twenty-one divines, gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, ser and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgin boys, and two infants, one of which springing from its mother's as she was burning at the stake, was immediately snatched up inhumanly flung into the fire.1 Besides these many perish

¹ Speed's History, p. 852.—This account makes the number committed to the

atment, while hundreds fled the kingdom, to seek safety on foreign tree. The sanguinary character of this terrible reign is fully miled in the pages of Foxe, whom, like many others, Mary forced to exile, and thus gave him leisure for writing his Martyrology—telling posterity the tale of her cruelties; and harrowing as is a record, it is well that it is preserved to keep fresh in the memory leagland the deeds of atrocity which give an infernal character to be reign, and exhibit a type of the true spirit of Romanism in all ps, whenever it has had the power. Little to be envied is the man to can read the history of the cold-blooded murders then perpented in England, without feeling his soul swell with indignation, at the thought simultaneously rising up in his mind, Woe to be the popular bigotry shall wield its destinies!

During somewhat more than a year and a half after Mary's accessing to the throne, no Protestant blood was shed, though many Protestant were imprisoned. This comparative lenity was not, however, ving to her. Had her fervent wishes, which were the extermination theretics, been gratified, she would, immediately on her accession, we exacted the terrible scenes of persecution which darkened the time of her reign. What prevented her from doing so was not her learnity, nor even present expediency, but the restraints imposed

let this persecution 277. Different writers vary slightly as to the number, some at a 200. These various relations, "sufficiently different to assure us that the same verse independent witnesses, who did not borrow from each other, are yet been were to attest the general accuracy of their statements."—Sir James Mackinsh According to Lord Burleigh, an authority of great weight on this point, who the number in each county and under each year, with the places of execution, the marker hurst in 1555, beginning in February, was seventy-one, in 1556 eighty-nine, and group as average of seventy-two for each year.—Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. 2014, and a pp. 554-556. From this table it appears that the persecution proceeded about an equal pace during the whole of that period. Towards the close, when it to undenteed under Cardinal Pole, who has so often been commended, but undenteed, for his moderation, there was no relaxation, and no symptoms of relaxation. In the persecution of the persecution of

upon her by her privy council, a strong party of which, on v grounds, particularly from hostility to Gardiner, the chan opposed themselves to blood-thirsty measures. This is e from the letters of Simon Renard, Charles the Fifth's amba at the English court, to his master; and it is to be observed, a ing the stronger weight to his testimony, that all his leaning in favour of the Queen. From one of these letters, dated 28th 1554, we learn that Mary's cruelty required to be held in check by this callous Spaniard, who, in recommending moderation, from no higher motive than state policy. "Sire,-The Quee more maturely weighed what I represented to her within the days, (as contained in my last letters to your majesty), the tre namely, which might arise from the divisions in the council, or great consequence it was to bring the Parliament to a close, : proceed gently in the reformation of religion, to avoid giving the any ground for a new rebellion, and to provide a strong force t safe passage and entry of his highness into the kingdom." In a letter, dated 1st May, 1554, he writes: "The Queen holds Pa great suspicion for two reasons, which she gave me. The firs when it was proposed in the Parliament to make it high treas any one to take arms against his highness, Paget spoke more vic against it than any one; although, before this, to the Queen l he had declared it quite right: the other, that when a bill was br in for the punishment of heretics, he used all his influence wi lords to oppose it, and to give no room for punishment of death. a subsequent letter he says: "This morning the Queen sent me we Basset, that the Parliament finished yesterday, much to the co ment of the estates, the reputation of her majesty, and the satisf of all, that the ancient penalties against heretics were assented to by peers."3 Again, in a letter dated 13th May, 1554, he writes: " \$ Paget, stung with remorse, has lately presented himself to the

Tytler's Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, vol. ii., p. 378.
 Ibid, vol. ii., p. 335.
 Ibid, vol. ii., p. 388.

ther mass, and asked her mercy for his intrigues in the late Parliament against the act for the punishment of heretics, and the statute which made it capital to take arms against his highness; protesting that for the future he would serve her majesty with faith and legalty. After some remonstrances, the Queen pardoned him, remainding him to behave better in time to come."

Some Protestant writers have affirmed that, abstracted from her

1 Blid, vol. ii., p. 392. Miss Strickland, the accomplished biographer of the Queens "Bestond, attempts to whitewash Mary of the guilt of the Protestant blood shed long her reign, by throwing the blame upon her ministers. Speaking of her during by severe shoess at the close of her life, she says : "So much ridicule has been cast on the mistake made in the Queen's situation [the mistake of her disease for pregnancy] he no person has asked the obvious question, Who governed England during the he which embraced the commencement of the Protestant persecution and her violent She again asks, "Who can believe that a woman in this state of mortal was expable of governing a kingdom, or that she was accountable for anything the in it?"-Vol. v., p. 405. In answer to this it is to be observed, 1st, that Mary schooly knew of these harbarities. "That they were transacted by her bishops withto her knowledge," says Ballard, "will seem very strange to any one who duly conthe vicinity of St. James's to the place where very many of them were put in Beeting. It seems impossible that Smithfield should be kept in flames for so long a beind and Queen Mary know little or nothing of it."-Learned Ladies, p. 134. That he loce all about it appears from many passages in the despatches of Nonilles, the I mbassador at the English court. 2dly, These barbarities were committed by be when or with her approbation. This also is manifest from the despatches of the anhamador. Gardiner was her prime minister during the first stages of the The same Cardinal Pole during the last three years of it. With these ministers to was in constant communication during their respective periods of power, and they shored her entire confidence, because they fulfilled her wishes more perfectly than she word any others would have done. Had she been averse to the shedding of blood, who simed chiefly at pleasing her, would perhaps have acted with less severity. The exacting of these cruelties was just the carrying out of the policy which, as water extracts from Renard's correspondence abundantly show, she contemplated the commencement of her reign. Let it further be observed, that in the directions this she gave in writing to her council, with respect to the reformation of the church, the persecution commenced, she expressly says: "Touching the punishment distins, me thinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the meanwhile to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple. Espe-Tay is Landon, I would wish none to be burnt without some of the council's presence, and both these and everywhere good sermons at the same time."-Collier's Eccl. Hist., td i. p. 272.—Burnet, vol. iv., p. 402.

religious opinions, which made her a persecutor from principle was of a compassionate and humane disposition.1 This estima her character is unhappily not borne out by facts, which prove h have been morose, gloomy, vindictive, unrelenting. It may st to advert only to her cruel punishment of such as had been conce in Wyatt's rebellion, caused by the unpopularity of her proje marriage with Philip of Spain. This rebellion not being Protes it could not be a misguided conscience, but the ruthlessness of temper which impelled her to severity. So inexorable was she, her councillors, as we learn from Renard's correspondence Charles V., had some difficulty in prevailing with her to put a sta these cruelties. Writing to Charles, 22d March, 1553-4, on this sub Renard says: "On Sunday last the councillors (moved by the meditated intrigues of the heretics) came to a resolution that, was a day of devotion, the Queen should be entreated to exe clemency, and not to shed the noble blood of England; that air the justice inflicted on the rebels amounted to cruelty; that people ought to be forgiven; and that she ought not to follow opinion of bloody men, meaning the chancellor [Gardiner]. On instant they determined to set off to find her majesty, and remonst on this subject; and they employed Paget, who is banded with t (as much I believe from hatred to the chancellor as for his relie opinions, which are suspected to be heretical), to carry the reque the Queen. From this neither Petre nor the comptroller [Sir Rc Rochester] dared to dissent. They found the Queen in her ora after vespers; and not only took her by surprise, having given no warning, but talked in such a way that, against her wishes good-will, she pardoned six gentlemen, who had been sent to I for execution, and who had sided with Wyatt in his rebellion. worst is that Paget told the Queen that they had already squand

^{1 &}quot;Princeps apud omnes ob mores sanctissimos, pietatem in pauperes, liberali innobiles, atque ecclesiasticos nunquam satis laudata."—Camden in Apparat., "Mulier sane pia, clemens, moribusque catissimis, et utquequaque laudanda, si religerrorem non spectes."—Godwin, p. 123.

s blood of the house of Suffolk, that he might work on her fears, of insines her to be merciful to the brothers of the duke, who had an condemned." In another letter to the Emperor, written 22d rd, 1554, speaking of the trial of the celebrated Sir Nicholas Throckerton, he says: "It is six days since the trial of a rebel named brokmorton. He was acquitted by twelve jurymen, who had been and empannelled, and who were all heretics; there being no mit that in spite of the verdict he deserved to be condemned. And in they carried him back to the Tower, after his acquittal, the cole with great joy raised shouts, and threw their caps in the trick has no displeased the Queen, that she has been ill for three by, and has not yet got quite the better of it."

The measures had recourse to by Mary in order to exterminate the seners produced the very contrary result. The blameless and holy of the Protestant martyrs, their pious fortitude and forgiving trit displayed in death, awakened public sympathy, excited to intr, and made new converts to the cause which it was intended to Tah. Even had her life been prolonged, it may be doubted whether would have succeeded in effecting the consummation she so devoutly what It was only after a persecution persevered in with unmitistal violence for several generations, that the government of the bighlouring kingdom of France succeeded in well nigh extinguishthe Reformation in that interesting country, and it would probably have been as difficult to extinguish the Reformation in England, in tich its principles had been not less widely disseminated, and had had their roots not less deeply. But from her obstinacy, bigotry, additional years of misery have rolled over England, to which a termination could only be beel for at her death, unless perchance the natural indignation whist her tyranny had become so general and overwhelming as to Trais a revolution.

Tytler's Reigns of Educard VI. and Mary, vol. ii., p. 343.

2 Ibid, vol. ii., p. 373.

Mary's closing days, as the native fruit of her severe temper an misgovernment, were very unhappy. The neglect of her husband whom she adored; the knowledge that by her cruelties she had becom odious to her subjects, and that the Princess Elizabeth, the heir ap parent to the throne, who was looked to as the destined restorer of the Protestant religion, was the favourite of the nation; her distrust of al her privy councillors, with the exception of Cardinal Pole, suspecting many of them of courting the friendship of Elizabeth; the dissatisfac tion caused by her having forced the nation into a fruitless and expensive war with France in support of Spain; the capture of Calais by the French, a fortress of great importance, from the easy access it afforded into the kingdom of France; an exhausted and burdened treasury; these were fruitful sources of painful reflections, which preyed upon her mind and soured her temper, adding mental agony to bodily sufferings.1 She died of a violent fever, at St. James's Palace, on the 17th of November, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age, having reigned only five years, four months, and eleven days, reckoning her accession to the throne from the death of Edward VI. 6th July, 1553. Of the reigns of all the sovereigns who have swaved the English sceptre, hers was the bloodiest; and of all of them since the Conquest, hers was the shortest, with the exception of that of the tyrant Richard III. She was buried on the north side of King Henry the Seventh's chapel, in St. Peter's church at Westminister. No monument was erected to her memory.2

² Memoirs of Queen Mary's Days, printed in 1681, and reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. i., pp. 209, 210.

¹ Noailles, in a despatch dated 22d May, 1556, says: "She knows herself to be neglected, and she finds little certainty in the promises of her husband." In another, dated 31st October, 1556, he says, "Most of her council are suspected. A large part is thought to be inclined to have some secret intelligence with Elizabeth. She has told Pole that there is now no one in her council in whom she has perfect confidence but himself."—Quoted in Turner's Modern History of England, vol. iii., pp. 490, 491. Caricature prints were circulated, representing a withered, wrinkled queen, with Spaniards at her breasts, to intimate that they had reduced her to skin and bone, with legends noting the rings, jewels, and money she had privately given to Philip. At this she was greatly incensed, and ascribed it to some of her own council, who only could have known of these secret presents.—Carte's History of England, vol. iii., p. 331.

Whatever opinion may be formed of the religious and ecclesiastical taracter of Elizabeth, who succeeded to the English throne upon he death of her sister Mary, and however blameable she was in her restment of the Puritans, her accession was a merciful providence to be Reformation in England and throughout Europe. In England, t put an end to a sanguinary persecution, and rescued the kingdom nee more from the papal jurisdiction, under which, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts of the papacy, it has never since been moght. Had the abominable policy of Mary and her rulers securely stablished itself, pure Christianity and liberty of thought would have been strangled in our country; and, bound hand and foot, it would have been hopelessly surrendered to a two-fold tyranny, that of the priost and that of the civil ruler, which would have sunk it to the and despicable condition to which Spain and Portugal have sunk more the nations of the world. But that policy was defeated when Embeth succeeded to the throne, and established Protestantism as the religion of the nation. Then England recommenced that career dimprovement which had been arrested by Mary, and which has residered her the freest, the most Christian, the most enlightened, the wealthiest, and the most powerful kingdom on the face of the the stronghold of liberty and of Christianity-the patron of art, and literature—unequalled for industry and commercial steprise; and, by the rapid multiplication of her race, planting in most distant regions of the globe her colonies, which, carrying them her faith, her liberty, and her literature, lay the foundaand mighty empires. The United States of America, in their Christianity, their freedom, their intelligence, their prosperity, ther greatness, are the fruit of the Reformation on the soil of Britain, and exhibit to the world the power of its principles, in other words, the power of the religion of Jesus Christ, as unfolded in the New Tetament, to make a nation great and its people happy.

Embeth's accession to the throne was also a merciful providence the Reformation throughout Europe. She was regarded by the democra of other countries as their protectress, and in the critical

circumstances in which they were then placed, she seemed as if ally raised up by Providence for their support. She did not i afford them in their emergencies all the aid which she migh ought to have yielded; but what she did yield was yet of ess service. The Reformers in Scotland, in their struggles wit Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, backed by the power of France Reformers in the Netherlands, in their struggles against Philip Spain, who was so formidable from his vast resources and inve bigotry—the Reformers of France, in their struggles against a s sion of their sovereigns and of their nobility, who to fiend-like c added fiend-like perfidy-were all deeply indebted to her bo actual assistance and for the check which her well-known sym for them imposed upon their adversaries. During her reign, t during that of her brother Edward, England became an asylum persecuted Protestants of every country, and there were in it Ge French, Italian, and Spanish Protestant congregations. united with the courts of Spain and France in a league to extern everywhere the Reformers, then the three greatest powers at time in Europe would have been embarked in this infernal prise, and what the disastrous results might have been it is diffic say. Elizabeth's legitimacy, and consequently her right of succ to the throne, depended upon her supporting the Reformation, shall see in her Life; and here again it becomes us gratefully knowledge the goodness of Providence in making it the inter this queen, who became so powerful, to support the Reformati a period when two of the mightiest nations of the world had pired to crush it.

One fact which particularly strikes the student of the hist the English Reformation, is the paramount agency of the Bible 1 lated into the vernacular tongue in originating and promoting great revolution. In other countries of Europe this agency was important, but less, pre-eminently so, than in England. At an

¹ See this fully brought out in Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, passir

eriod of the struggle, Tyndale's English version of the Scriptures. which had been printed on the Continent, and secretly imported, was remively circulated and read by his countrymen, notwithstanding a forcible measures adopted to suppress it, and it had been silently al unremittingly working for good even at times when the living of no preacher was lifted up against error and ignorance; so hat at the period when Henry VIII. threw off the papal authority, the much darkness still prevailed, yet so many had abandoned the popish creed for the pure doctrines of the gospel, or had lost the reperation for the old religion, that the steps he took against papacy met with no considerable opposition. During the reign Edward, the printing presses teemed with numerous editions of wins translations of the Scriptures, which were eagerly purchased and read by the people. This contributed immensely, above all other team, to the triumph and establishment of the Reformed principles a England, and it accounts for Queen Mary's inability to eradicate hm even by a relentless persecution. The interested supporters of b paper in England foresaw from the first that the Scriptures in tornacular tongue would be the most formidable antagonist of be stablished faith. They therefore opposed to the utmost their peration and circulation. They got royal proclamations issued for suppression, and they bought up or called in whole editions them, which they committed to the flames-an old persecuting as old at least as the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, who manded the books of the Jewish law to be torn in pieces and (1 Mac. 1). But no efforts were effectual in putting a stop to the directation of the Scriptures in the mother tongue, even when Marreign assumed an hostile attitude; and when he favoured this per cause, the number of copies printed and purchased excites our saulthment.

It is farther observable, that the state exercised a more immediate and electral control over the movements of the Reformation in England left its impress more visibly on the ecclesiastical framework as a than did any other government of Europe over the move-

ments of the Reformation within its dominions. This in part from no great and powerful character having appeared : the Reformers in England at that period, to awaken amor people, by stirring appeals from the pulpit and the press. a wide-spread and burning zeal for the truth as would com cate its impulse even to the government. It was different in countries. Zwingle in Switzerland, Luther in Germany, Cal-Geneva, and Knox in Scotland, were all master-spirits, who by of intellect, fervour of eloquence, and force of character, me their age, and left the impress of their minds on the religious in tions of their country. Each of these Reformers had more inf in settling the religious creed and ecclesiastical polity of their r tive countries than had their civil rulers, none of whom arro the position of lawgiver in matters of faith, and who, if favoura the Reformation, proceeded in a great measure upon the princi sanctioning and ratifying, as the religion of the state, the syst doctrine and the form of polity drawn up from the Word of G their respective Reformers. In England matters were conduc a less accommodating spirit. Though some of the leading Refo were consulted as to the faith to be established, and had infl upon the sovereign, especially in the reign of Edward VI., consequence of the assumption of ecclesiastical supremacy by I VIII. and his successors, which implied their right to cho religion for their subjects, the sovereign, or the state, to the i both of religion and of liberty, acted as ecclesiastical dictator. scribed to ministers and people the doctrines to be believed, the and ceremonies to be observed, and the form of discipline by the church was to be governed. In Scotland the Reformers concede no such power to their sovereigns, maintaining, and ris as we believe, that Christ is the alone head of his church, and no earthly sovereign can warrantably claim that title, or the which it involves. 1 As to the English Parliament of that age,

¹ The opposition made by the Scottish Presbyterians to James VI. and Ch arose from the assumption of supremacy over the church by these kings, and the state of the church by these kings, and the state of the church by these kings, and the state of the church by the state of the church by

was their subserviency to the crown, that they unscrupulously approved and sanctioned whatever ecclesiastical system pleased the reigning severign. This their unprincipled subserviency, is graphically described by Schiller, who, in his tragedy of Mary Queen of Scots, introduces that queen as making the following sarcastic reply to the argument of Lord Burleigh, that as her judges were the chief nobility of England, no tribunal could be more impartial:—

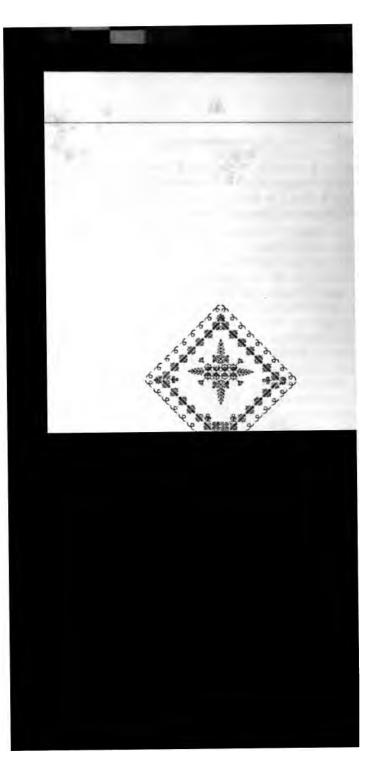
"Yes, truly; were these Lords as you describe them. I must be mute; my cause beyond all hope Were lost, if such a Court pronounce me guilty. But, Sir, these names, which you are pleased to praise, These very men, whose weight you think will crush me, I see performing in the history Of these dominions very different parts: I see this high nobility of England, This grave majestic Senate of the realm, Like to an eastern monarch's vilest slaves, Flatter my uncle Henry's sultan fancies: I see this noble rev'rend House of Lords, Venal alike with the corrupted Commons, Make statutes and annul them, ratify A marriage, and dissolve it, as the voice Of power commands: to-day it disinherits, And brands the royal daughters of the realm With the vile name of bastards, and to-morrow Crowns them as queens, and leads them to the throne. I see them in four reigns, with pliant conscience, Four times abjure their faith; renounce the Pope With Henry, yet retain the old belief; Beform themselves with Edward; hear the mass Again with Mary; with Elizabeth, Who governs now, reform themselves again."

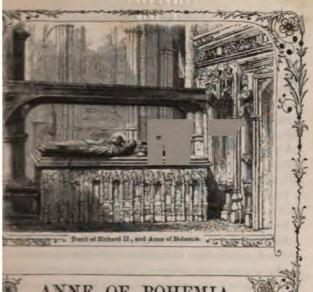
But whatever may have been the disadvantages caused to the Eglish Reformation by the undue interference and control of the

the sufferings of the martyrs under the reigns of Charles II. and James VII., to the refusing to submit to the ecclesiastical supremacy claimed by the crown. The start of Christ over his own church, to the exclusion of civil rulers, and all starts, is a doctrine which has taken such hold upon the Scottish mind, that no series of convinced, could, even at the present day, enforce a claim to ecclesional supremacy in Scotland, save at the expense of reviving the persecuting scenes of the supremacy in Scotland, save at the expense of reviving the persecuting scenes.

sovereign, whose nod the Parliament of course obeyed, Englan much reason to remember with the deepest gratitude the history her Reformation. It is the most memorable portion of her a It abounds in varied and stirring scenes, and is replete with le of profound instruction. It discovers much of human wicker but at every step it also discloses the singular interposition beneficent Providence, and nowhere do we meet with bri examples of Christian heroism than in the English martyrs. no kingdom has the Reformation done more than for England after having reaped its blessings for three centuries, is she not getting all the lessons of the past, to fall back into popish supers and idolatry, from which, by a train of such marvellous event was emancipated-is she again to exhibit herself, as before Reformation, squatting blindfolded, ragged, and squalid, amids accumulated offal of the middle ages? A party within the p her Established Church would gladly see this consummation; ar Vatican, which, since the time it lost England, has never ceas look upon her with a covetous eye, has of late been strongly ch ing the hope of seeing her, within the course of a few years, about the Reformation, and return to the bosom of the infallible ch Into this belief the papal court has been led by the progress of ford Tractarianism in England, and by the representations of Oxford converts to Popery. But we will not believe that a r which has so long shone transcendent above all the nations of earth for its love of liberty, civil and religious, will submit to be enthralled by the papal supremacy, the most terrible despotism to speak of the character of the papacy as a system of religionthe world ever saw. Notwithstanding the treachery of some i Protestant Established Church of England, and notwithstandin aggressive efforts hitherto made and still making by the papac will not despair of the cause of Protestantism in this enlightene free country. We will cherish the hope expressed by one c noblest of its martyrs, even when the night of darkness and deso. was at its blackest: "Be of good courage, Mr. Ridley, and pla in," said the venerable and intrepid Latimer, when both were and to the stake, and about to be consumed to ashes, in the reign the bloody Mary, "we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a sale in England as, I trust, shall never be put out."

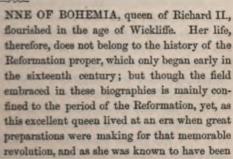






ANNE OF BOHEMIA.

QUEEN OF RICHARD II.



friend and protector of Wickliffe and his followers, who were ingers in England, as well as in other countries, it may not 34

be out of place to collect together the brief notices of her re and ecclesiastical history. "To Anne of Bohemia," says an e biographer, "is attributed the honour of being the first o illustrious band of princesses who were the nursing-mothers Reformation. The Protestant Church inscribes her name commencement of the illustrious list, in which are seen those of Boleyn, Katharine Parr, Lady Jane Grey, and Queen Elizabet

Anne of Bohemia was the eldest daughter of the En Charles IV., of the house of Luxembourg, by his fourth wife beth, daughter of Boleslaus, Duke of Pomerania, and grand-da to Cassimir the Great, King of Poland. She was sister to ceslaus, King of Bohemia and Emperor of Germany. She wa at Prague, in Bohemia, about the year 1367.

Anne is believed to have been imbued with piety, and to ha more enlightened views of Christian truth than was common i age, before her coming to England. This may be accounted for fr state of religion in Bohemia at that period. There were especially Reformers who flourished in Bohemia during the childhood and of this princess; and from their celebrity, as well as from the connection of one of them with her own family, she must hav familiar with their names and their opinions. These Reformer John Melice, Conrad Strickna, and Matthias Janovius. Meli a native of Prague, and of noble descent. He was a popular pre and by his addresses made a powerful impression on the mult who flocked to hear him. He vindicated the communion in kinds, and loudly complained of the spiritual death and deso the glaring abuses and corruptions, which everywhere pre-He died in 1374. Strickna, a man of acknowledged eruditio eloquence, had been his coadjutor, but died five years before Janovius, also a native of Prague, maintained the cause of 1 truth with still greater effect. He was confessor to Charle Anne's father. In the ardour of their zeal, he and some other le

¹ Miss Strickland's Queens of England, vol. ii., p. 371.

men entreated Charles to call a general council for the reformation of the church; and, though the king pleaded that it belonged to the Pope and not to him to call a general council, he laid the proposition before his holiness, and recommended it as a step much to be desired. but his holiness, who thought differently, alarmed and exasperated, demanded the punishment of these daring heretics. In superstitious reperation for the Papal authority, Charles banished Janovius from the kingdom. Communion in both kinds was then abolished. Recould celebrate the sacrament of the supper after their acmanner only in private houses, in woods and caves, at the hand of their lives. They were plundered, beaten, drowned in there, and according to a proclamation issued 18th September, 1376, For committed to the flames. Janovius subsequently returned to Blamia, where, however, he now lived in privacy. He died 30th Swember, 1394, predicting, with his dying breath, the coming recomption of the church. "The rage of the enemies of truth," said has now prevailed against us, but this shall not always last; an obscure people shall arise, without sword or power, over whom they shall not be able to prevail." 1

Thus, before Anne came to this country, the Popish doctrines had be contested in Bohemia, and successful efforts made to enlighten the piety of her countrymen. This state of matters had a very familie influence upon her mind. She became a thoughtful interest and though, from living in an age when only some rays of the had dawned upon the human mind, her views of Divine truth was in many respects obscure and imperfect, they were yet more distinct than was common among persons of her rank, or indeed, and persons of any condition of life in that age of darkness. As a primitive times there were saints in Casar's household, so in her there's palace there were individuals friendly to the truth, from the derived important advantages.

Educid IL, to whom Anne was afterwards united in marriage,

¹ Vaugian's Life of Wickliffe, vol. ii., pp. 158-163.

he succeeded to the throne, being then a bo The fame of Anne having reached Eng about thirteen years of age, began to think ner on the throne, and, in the year 1380, sh the council of regency which conducted the minority. But it was not till some time aft her fifteenth year, she was judged capable that the marriage was determined upon. induced to become the consort of Richard, spect of being elevated to the English thro which had reached Bohemia of a revival of re John Wickliffe, whose name and some of who in that country. All arrangements for her having been made, she was nobly escorted way to England. On her arrival at Calais, t the Parliament, which was then sitting, it v Christmas, and divers of the nobility were sen her in crossing over to Dover. Having safe rested there for two days, and then made a don, to the great delight of the people, who sovereign was to obtain for his wife " Cæsar' It is worthy of notice, that the natives of

to accompany her to England on the occasion occupy situations in her household establish Reformed opinions. If her own wishes were are an interesting proof of her considerate, humane, and position. In that year an insurrection had broken out. The tyranny and oppression of the haughty nobility had excited a spirit of strong dissatisfaction among the this spirit was inflamed by a mob orator, John Ball, a perambulated the country promulgating the equality of s being sprung from the same original stock, proclaiming were no gentry jure divino, and denouncing all the distinction in a strain very like that of the levellers in modern an address to many thousands of the people assembled at , he began with these lines—

"When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?"

em the text for an insurrectionary declamation, which people to a high pitch of resentment against the governwas then that this couplet became as a household word masses of the people. The train being thus laid for an the rigour with which the unpopular tax of three groats was levied by the tax-gatherers, to whom it had been caused the explosion. The people took up arms, and in mustered 100,000 men. But by the prudent and prompt at of Richard, who displayed on this occasion an address see of mind which raised expectation as to his capacity, ands realized, the insurrection was quelled. Tranquillity prevailed when the queen landed in England; yet many bling for their lives. The penalties of rebellion and treaover the heads of thousands. This was a painful thought my princess. The condition of the people excited her coma; she felt that they had well-founded causes of complaint, their sufferings had driven them to insurrection. with Richard and his counsellors that a general pardon

Accesis, or General Chronicle of England, edit. London, 1615, p. 294.

application either personally or by w the great seal. The king's letters to land, dated 13th December, 1381, con pardon to be proclaimed in the towns diction, begin with stating that his a this exercise of royal elemency, "from special request of the most serene lady become, by the will of God, our consort."

special request of the most serene lady become, by the will of God, our consort."

Anne was married to Richard with m the 14th of January, 1382, in the Charles Palace. Among other demonstrations of the representation of plays, and the exhibit ants, with which it was customary at the marriage of princes. From the favourable of the accomplishments and good qualities himself so fortunate in gaining her for hiceiving a dowry with her, he gladly gave Wenceslaus ten thousand merks for the all the expenses connected with her judaughter of Barnabe, Duke of Milan, had large sum of gold. But he had fixed his he and was bent upon having her at any print the happy pair were greatly.

and amiable countenance; and being of warm affections, he was
d in many respects for domestic happiness. Anne's "beauty,"
Miss Strickland, "must have been limited to stature and comion, for the features of her statue are homely and undignified.

arrow high-pointed forehead, a long upper lip, cheeks whose
increased towards the lower part of the face, can scarcely
the her to claim a reputation for beauty." But in the eyes of
hard, no woman was so lovely as his own blooming Bohemian
the "The head-dress she wore must have neutralized the defects
of face in some degree, by giving an appearance of breadth to her
tow forehead."



Court Comingon, time of Kichard IL

At this period there were two rival popes. Gregory XI. having of in 1378, the cardinals assembled at Rome to elect a successor,

[&]quot;is this queen's days noble women used high attire on their heads, piked horns about capel, with long trained gowns, and rode on side-saddles, after the example to the part, who first brought that fashion into this land, for before women were used the saride, like men."—Stowe's Annals, p. 295. But "the side-saddle of Anne of

mey were determined should be the assembled tumultuously around the pla forth terrible menaces if an Italian was cardinals, who were in terror for their live a Neapolitan, who on his election assume A number of the leading cardinals, howe had been done, fled from Rome to Fondi, a taining, that as the election of Urban was it was invalid, chose a French prelate, Ro Geneva, who took the name of Clement VI including Scotland, Spain, Sicily, and Cypr England and the rest of Europe for Urban residence at Avignon, the latter at Rome. by these conflicting competitors for the I attention of the clergy to a great extent tributed to preserve him from their vengea of the contending popes, who launched out against the other, he exultingly anticipated efforts as a reformer. "Christ," said he, "h us graciously, in that he hath clove the head the two parts fight against each other."1

After Anne's marriage with Richard an were sent by his majesty to Urban, with int rents. His holiness sent the following congratulatory letter to rd in reply :- "Urban, bishop, servant of the servants of God, dearest, &c., Health and apostolical benediction. The letters r serene highness, conveying the tidings of the coronation, and solemnization of the marriage contracted between you and our at daughter in Christ, the illustrious Anne, Queen of England, ave favourably and very gladly received, and are filled with joy at the news, confidently hoping that He who confers favours estows rewards, and by whose will you and the same queen, in ower of most grateful youth, have been united in the marriage ant, will from the same marriage grant you a noble progeny, after a long life, accompanied with the enjoyment of peace, passing smoothly down into a good old age, will bestow upon of you the kingdom of everlasting blessedness. Of our good tion towards you and the queen, dearly beloved son, we have instructed Walter Skirlawe, deacon of St. Martin's church, Lonand the nobleman, Nicholas Dagworth, your ambassadors, the ers of the present letters, in whom, as to what communications ave to make to your highness, we wish you to place full confi-. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, the 11th of the kalends of May, in fifth year of our pontificate."-Addressed "To our Dearest in Christ, the Illustrious Richard, King of England."1

sen Anne is styled by the Pope "our dearest daughter in at," and she never formally separated from the Romish Church. It was indeed, in her days, no formal separation in England from christ. Matters were not yet ripe for such a step. But there a distinct renunciation of a great part of what was erroneous, retitious, and idolatrous in the Popish creed, and a reverting to tectrines and precepts of Christianity as primitively taught by at and his apostles. And Anne, whatever may have been the effection of her acquaintance with Divine truth, exemplified, in reservation for the Sacred Writings, that spirit in which the

¹ Rymer's Fædera, tom. iii., pars iii., p. 153.

ivine truth was sealed up from man in forms and ceremonies, in superstit tions, instead of through faith in the p and all-sufficient Saviour as revealed in tages at that time were scanty compo Few were in possession of the entire more of the gospels, or of one or more an invaluable treasure. This queen h pels in three languages, Bohemian, Engl version, however, seems not to have be the conquest of William of Normandy, John Huss thus quotes the words of Wi England has the gospels written in thre Teutonic, and Latin."1 To the reading taries written upon them by learned m every day, exploring them like one wh gold, yea, accounting them infinitely mor of gold within the bowels of the earth, wisdom whose price is above rubies.

That Anne was devoted to the study of known to Romanists in high places in ch versation with Arundel, then Archbish Archbishop of Canterbury, she spoke fre heavenly treasure on the study of ernacular tongue. He was alarmed even at the circulation of ish copies of a single gospel, or of a single epistle; for he well that these, if circulated, would be like inserting the thin end wedge, which, driven home, would cleave the church in pieces. the wily prelate, so far from objecting to her sentiments and ice, enlogized her piety and diligence. A humbler individual, if m to be guilty of reading the Scriptures, would have been at suspected of Lollardism, and pounced upon as an enemy of the ch. But her exalted station protected her. To attack or disturb for her pious readings would have been dangerous; and the singentleness and benevolence of her nature, which gained upon carta, had their own influence in extorting reluctant praise from relate.

ickliffe, who lived only about three years after her arrival in this try, was not ignorant of her course of Scripture reading. To him semed like Mary, the sister of Lazarus, who "sat at Jesus' feet, hard his word," captivated by its attractions, and subdued by ower. He pleaded her example in reading an English version a gospels in defence of his English translation of the Sacred as, and inquired "whether to hereticate her on account of this tice would not be Luciferian folly?"

a diligence of this queen in reading the gospels was not without raits. She imbibed the spirit of Jesus, whose life and character radies—a spirit of benevolence and charity. Misery and distress, rever she found them, excited her commiseration. And, though anot be said that to comfort and relieve the poor and the afflicted, widow and the orphan, she sacrificed the embellishments of her at luxury of her table, the splendour of her equipage, or the rations of her person, yet, like an almoner of Divine Providence, sattered around her princely benefactions for the relief of the raig and the sorrowful. Six thousand persons were daily entered at the royal table, the most of whom were "the indigent poor."

me queen, takes off the edge from this writer our admiration, not our blame, of the generous vised such liberal things. She would remembe inspired life she took so much pleasure in read on the multitude, numbering four thousand perso nothing to eat, and wrought a miracle that the filled. By this charity and kindness she won t people, by whom, during life as well as after familiarly known as "the good Queen Anne." Anne, having imbibed the opinions of Wick protection to the Reformer to the close of hi main instrument in saving him from the vengear him by his incensed enemy, Courtney, Archbisi who was thirsting for his blood. The law was existence by which he could have been condemn stake; but still ways and means might have b passing his destruction. In interposing in his was distinguished for the mildness of her disport Richard in her own delicate, quiet, and gentle v still small voice. She would select some striking gospels, which recommended kindness to the min

Christ, and condemned the persecution of them, a of darkness, as an effect of the malice of the wice

Christ himself . and she would wend

cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily, I say he shall in no wise lose his reward." "Wherefore, behold, d unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes : and some of ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them ye shall scourge ar synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: That you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from lood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of hiss, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar." "Whoshall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, were cast into the sea." In the whole bearing and deportof Anne there was an unaffected yet dignified benignity, a ar grace and suavity, the power of which none could resist; a the mind of Richard, who adored her, and to whom everyshe said or did had an indescribable charm, her persuasions, d by an appeal to her favourite gospels, though, intrinsically dered, they might make little impression on his mind, yet, as ag from her, had a fascinating power, and they swayed him to de of moderation.

me found her hands strengthened in this good work by Joan, mother-in-law, who was a great admirer of Wickliffe, and a set to his dectrines. Joan, who was more impassioned and late than her daughter-in-law, interfered in his behalf with all ardour of a sincere and generous admiration, and with a courage easily to be overawed and defeated. When he appeared before arries instical Synod at Lambeth, early in the year 1378,2 four in before Anne came to England, Joan's zeal combined with a of the people in thwarting the plans of the ecclesiastics to this him, and to suppress the tenets he had been teaching. His time had by this time gained upon the convictions and hearts

'Man. z. 41, 42, and xxiii. 34, 35. Mark ix. 42.

^{*} Man Struckland, is her Queeas of England, vol. ii., p. 372, incorrectly says 1382,

of the queen-mother, boldly forbade their pro condemnatory sentence upon the doctrines an Reformer. Thus was the courage of the jud with the wind," as Walsingham observes, an proceed. 1 The mandate of Joan, at the tim was a proof of no ordinary fortitude and en herself in opposition to the Pope, who had ju King of England, the Archbishop of Cantel London, and the University of Oxford, requ suppression of Wickliffe's opinions, and the arr of all who were tainted with his heresies. T arch heretic has gone to such a pitch of det fears not to teach and publicly preach, or rathe filthy dungeon of his breast, erroneous and fa conclusions, savouring of heretical pravity. charge and command you, the King of Englan bishop of Canterbury, and you the Bishop of University of Oxford, to cause the said John V may be infected with these errors, if they obstir to be apprehended and cast into prison." In authority, thus repeatedly and emphatically e mother said, "No, John Wickliffe is not the det

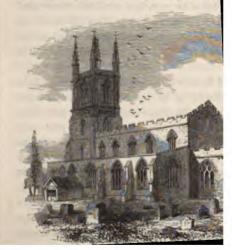
the Pope represents him to be and if I

after consecration, is not the very body of Christ, but is so ratively; that the Church of Rome is no more the head of churches, than any other church is, and that Peter had no wer given him by Christ, than any other apostle had; that of Rome has no more the keys of the church, than any dividual within the order of the priesthood has; that lords I may lawfully and meritoriously deprive churchmen g habitually of their temporalities; that the gospel is of itale sufficient to govern the life of every Christian, without er rule; and that neither the Pope, nor any other prelate of rch, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors.1 ere some of Wickliffe's doctrines, which the Pope in his conassisted by the advice of twenty-three cardinals, condemned sical, and for which he commanded that Wickliffe should be and consigned to a dungeon, but in maintaining and propawhich the Reformer was defended and encouraged by the nother.

of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, one of Richard's uncles, "the lather of the Lollards," as he has been styled, and other of rank, co-operated with Anne and Joan in protecting a The circumstances of the times rendered their protection reflectual. The antagonistic popes, from their mutual cond no time to look after heretics; and the factions by which d was distracted, so engrossed the attention of the parties, a clergy could not obtain the support they desired in proceedings the rector of Lutterworth. Whether these protectors or would not have been able, had Providence spared him for a period, to have preserved his liberty and life, it is imposted to the process of the support of the same was in the anticipation of martyrdom. "To live," says he, "and left is, with me, impossible; the guilt of such treason against and of heaven is more to be dreaded than many deaths. Let

¹ Page's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii., pp. 3-6.

might fear that Richard, as he needed to might by their influence be swayed, not sions of his mother and his queen, to kin persecution. He was not, however, called trial. While administering the bread of cel of his church of Lutterworth, on the 23 was suddenly seized with paralysis, which



at by her influence much of the severe persecution which befell Lollards would have been prevented. Richard was stayed from mal violence so long as she lived; and, even after her death, though lent himself by the solicitations of the clergy to persecute in grous forms, none of the Lollards were put to death during his reign. Anne continued to retain the affections of Richard undiminished the last, and he never dishonoured her by giving his heart to a I Yet from the time of her coming to England to her death, had, from the confusion of the times, her own distresses, caused will by the folly of Richard in the government of the kingdom, of partly by the cabals formed by his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester pinst him. That nobleman, who was ambitious of engrossing the tole authority of the state, finding that the sovereign, as he grew der, was not to be retained in that subjection in which he had been therto held by his uncles, and that he yielded himself to the smoney of strangers, rather than to his advice, formed a strong arty against him, and having both the House of Commons and the ere of Peers at his devotion, wrested the government from his and transferred it to a commission composed entirely of his own Richard's great weaknesses lay in mistaking flatterers friends; in associating with unworthy favourites, by whom he find himself to be almost wholly governed; in an extreme irritatemper over which he had no control; and in an unbounded for show and extravagance, which injured his popularity by the public burdens. These defects gave great advantage Glowcester, and, during the time of his triumph, several of chard's counsellors and favourites were put to death, among whom Bir Simon Burley, a gentleman who, for his personal merits, ad been appointed governor to Richard by Richard's father and mulfather, and by whom the prince, from his tender infancy, had to the present time been attended and served with devoted at-These executions took place in the year 1388.

accomplished man, she had formed a very hand engaging manners, and he ever afterwards. He equally retained the esteem an who felt something like filial respect toward and conferred upon him various marks of rand Richard were much interested in his sain vain, to save his life. "The queen," says hours on her knees before the Duke of Glougentleman's life; but though she was become her amiable qualities, which had acquired the good Queen Anne, her petition was a inexorable tyrant."

Queen Anne died, June 7, 1394, at Shene age of twenty-seven, to the inexpressible grid in her lost a wise counsellor, and his best with him upwards of twelve years. Froi death:—"At this period the Lady Anne, Que

¹ Walaingham, who is followed by Stowe, stigmatizes an oppressor of the poor, a hater of the church, and prothis Popish writer is too partial and malicious to be implof the characters he describes. Froissart, who personall youth I had found him a gentle knight, and, according good sense."—(See his Chronicle of England, &c., transiii., p. 475). "And the choice made of this gentleman,"

quainted with these heavenly treasure From the sentiments thus expressed we not know more of the man, that Ar Lollards, and that he would stand up semination of the Bible in the vulgar to part. In eulogizing Anne for reading th her loss, he was speaking "with feigne simply to please Richard, who was so deceased queen; and in twitting the pre of the Scriptures compared with the queen personal feeling against some of his cleric being favourable to the Wickliffites, and Scriptures among the people, he bent all death of Anne, to the extirpation of the o the other. He branded the Lollards as t described in the Apocalypse (chap. vi. 5), more enormous than treason, since it was kings. He interdicted the translation o vernacular tongue, and stirred up the king whole kingdom, whoever should dare to

native language the revelation of God's for all. Two years after the death of the

bishop of Canterbury, and this

kl, who had placed the crown upon his brow, and the rest of agy, who had aided him in acquiring his usurped authority, the might still powerfully aid him in supporting it, Henry la statute authorizing the burning of heretics, the first penal ment in England against heresy-an enactment under which were subsequently consigned to the flames, particularly in the act Henry VIII. and his daughter, the bloody Mary. By this te it was ordained that none should preach, or teach in schools, its in opposition to the Catholic faith; that none should favour mere guilty of doing so; that within forty days all heretical a should be delivered up; and that if any person, who was cond of offending in these particulars, should refuse to abjure, or after having once abjured, should be found to have relapsed, id "be burned in an eminent place before the people, to the at that this kind of punishment may strike a terror on the ds of others."

fier the death of Anne, many members of her household having and to Bohemia, carried with them the opinions and the writof the English Reformer, and were the means of scattering the a of the Heformed faith among their countrymen. By the writ-Wickliffe, conveyed into Bohemia by her servants or train, by some Bohemian students attending the university of Oxford, incles was there given to the movement for the reformation of detrine and discipline of the church. It was from this source John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the honoured successors of ics, Strickna, and Janovius, imbibed the opinions which they disinsted, and for which they suffered.2 Thus the coming of Anne Espland seems to have been an important link in the chain by th Divine Providence connected England and Bohemia at that in the struggle for church reform-by which it paved the way rendering the labours of Wickliffe instrumental in propagating vine truth in the latter country.

See this statute in Poxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii., p. 239.

Examinski's Reformation in Poland, vol. i., p. 58.

di has simucen down di tion; but to Richard it seemed that to mind associations and remembrances too dured. In Rymer's Fædera there is a con two architects, citizens of London, for the marble in Westminster for himself and A In the same work there is another contr copper-smiths, citizens of London, for state the tomb, dated 24th April, same year. written in French.2 The tomb was to be or effigies, among which were to be two of representing Richard himself, and the o reposing and crowned, having their right other, while they held sceptres in their I giving the two effigies this peculiar posi the tenderness of Richard's affection for cross was to be placed between the effigie were to rest on two lions, those of the leopard; all of which animals are now le metal gilded, on which the images should made, and it was to be ornamented with lions, eagles, and leopards, emblematical c of both the king and the queen; the France, the lions Bohemia 41

nent suitable inscriptions, to be supplied them. The incons were in Latin. The first part, in particular, is remarkble touching tenderness and sympathy with which it sees Anne's personal attractions, mental virtues, and beneficent Hence it may perhaps be concluded that it was written either thand himself, or by one who knew her well, and appreciated with. Of the first part we hazard the following translation:—

IFITAPH ON ANNE, WIFE OF RICHARD II., KING OF ENGLAND.

"The dust of Anne, the second Richard's queen, Lies now entombed beneath this spacious stone; Her lovely form enchained wherever seen, Her face with meek and radiant beauty shone. Dear was her Saviour to her loving heart; Her love and gentleness to all she showed; In healing strifes she ever did her part; With peaceful thoughts her heavenly bosom glowed. To her the poor, with want and care oppressed, Could look with hope for pity and relief; With heart and hand she succoured the distressed, Nor grudged the cost of want and pain and grief. The lonely widow's tears she wiped away, And to the sick the healing draught she brought: Whoever suffered found in her a stay; To live for others-this she daily sought." 1

tard was subsequently married to Isabella, daughter of Charles I France, a princess only seven or eight years of age. He was rent about a second marriage, and formed this alliance to content a pence with France. After his death she was sent home, came the wife of Charles, son and heir of the Duke of Orleans, revived Anne only five years, having shortly after his deposition turved to death by the usurper, Henry of Lancaster. He was

next two lines, which we omit, simply state that she died on the 7th of July, at there is here a mistake as to the month, for, from some of her funeral letters, merved, we learn that she died on the 7th of June.—Crull's Antiquities of St. on the Abbry Church of Westminster, pp. 175-177.

graces of his person, and partly the quali scribed on the tomb.2

¹ King's Langley, in Hertfordshire, was formerly a r and from the place was named, Edmund de Langley, on Duke of York, and here was a little house of friar predit. London, 1789, vol. i., p. 339.

² Holinshed's Chronicles, edit. London, 1808, vol. iii represents the tomb of Anne and Richard as erected by

we have seen, by Richard himself.





Hever Castle, Kent.

ANNE BOLEYN.

SECOND QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER L

FROM HER BIRTH TO HER MARRIAGE WITH HENRY VIIL

HE life of Anne Boleyn forms an interesting episode in the history of the English Reformation. Without intending it, she became the occasion of the ecclesiastical separation of England from the Papal supremacy. Conquered by her engaging qualities, Henry VIII., to main her for his wife, persisted in demanding from the advorce from his former queen, Katharine of Aragon, until patience being exhausted by the refusal of his holiness, who, is demand, was thrown into the dilemma of displeasing either thanks.

been assailed with the most indecent and They cannot mention her name v writers. and pouring forth a torrent of foaming, defa though natural, is unreasonable enough. a lady to be loved because she is lovely. Anne, "like the forgotten abbess of Coldingha were prowling around, should have mutila order to make it ugly." Like every other p history, her character and conduct are to be and without prejudice. If historical justice r fections and faults should not be concealed, it should receive credit for whatever good quali whatever good actions she performed. In the proposed, it is not our wish to exalt her above of deep ardent piety, high Christian character. acquaintance with evangelical truth, and mor taining it, we do not place her on a level with Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, or Jane, Queen of do we admit her to have been the Jezebel, the I monster which foul-mouthed Popish slandere describe her. It is, happily, not necessary English Reformation that we should lavish u comiums. That great revolution did not

me had not surrendered herself to neutrality or indifference to the seclesiastical movement. She had shown a zeal in encouraging hown by none in high places before her time. She was the transport of Cranmer, Latimer, Tyndale, and others; and had her life as prolonged, there was the prospect of her rendering still more pertant services to the infant cause. This affords an additional planation of the inveterate hatred cherished against her by the times of Popery. Perhaps no other personage in England was parted with more rancorous feelings at the Vatican; and Rome in a time got a terrible revenge. Its emissaries were unceasingly realing macres for her, and her destruction at last, there is reason believe, was the result of a Popish conspiracy, combined with the tented affections and jealousy of Henry. On these grounds we are given her a place in our sketches.

Axx Boleyn was the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, by is wif. Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Serry, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk. The usual residence of a parents was at Rochford Hall, in Essex, but they also sometimes midel at Blickling, near Aylsham, in Norfolk, and at this latter has been born. The exact date of her birth is uncertain. Only, an accurate antiquary, whose authority is of great weight, who lived not very remote from her own times, places it in the part 1507; and he is followed by Bayle and Burnet. But if the alternat made by Lord Herbert, that she was twenty years of age the return from France in 1521, be correct, and various circumtered tend to confirm it, she must have been born about the year 1501. The family of the Boleyns is supposed to be of French origin; and anne a father, though only a knight, was nobly descended. His

The section of the present mansion of Blickling Hall was commenced by Sir Boart, Bart, during the reign of James L, but not finished until the year has as of the most perfect examples of architecture of that monarch's time Baranial Halls of England, London, Chapman, 1848, vol. ii.

I Appendus to his Annals, Rerum Anglicarum, &c., p. 2.

ne admired and patronized, thus writes concerning him, in a letter to Damianus à all unite in praising, almost the only learne and manifestly of a philosophic mind." applauds him for having the greatness of upon a noble ancestry and honourable ran tion arising from the honoured studies of being a man of letters and of refined man place in the esteem of Henry VIII., all wh allowed, were men of superior capacity ar they might be in other respects; and suc talents and discretion, that he was early important embassies to foreign courts. H habituated to serious thought; and coming charge of his diplomatic duties, with men of] and other countries on the Continent, he em Erasmus applauds him as more illustrious for than for the ornament of fortune. And in mends his diligence in the study of the sa more congratulate you, when I observe that so precious to a man such as you, so powerf tier, and that you are actuated by a desire price." To Sir Thomas the world was in labours which proceeded &

Ha desiring Erasmus to favour him and the world with his thoughts a these important subjects, bears testimony to the pious temper of his mind.

Few memorials respecting Anne's early education have been preerved. In the early period of her life, the education of English blis was less complete than some years later, when Sir Thomas More, by his enthusiastic diligence in instructing his daughters in which was zealously followed by Heary VIII. and by the English nobility, in the tuition of their larghters. Greater attention, however, appears to have been bewas upon the education of Anne than was common at that time, me in regard to ladies of her own rank; a circumstance probably ming to her father's taste for letters. She studied with assiduity and the French language under a French governess, called Simosale, and in that language, as well as in her own, she frequently corregooded with her father during his absence at court. She also received in Latin, though it may be doubted whether the same pains had been taken to make her a proficient in that tongue as in the Franch. She was carefully instructed in music, singing, and dancing, so in the use of the needle, then reckoned an essential accomplatment of ladies of the first rank, since much of their leisure time a mature years was employed in tapestry work, an occupation which, lyladies in our day, would perhaps be considered somewhat monoand irksome. Her father, it would appear, proud of the promental capacity, beauty, and loveliness of his daughter, while that she should be good, was ambitious to give her every agant accomplishment fitted to make her shine in courts. Hence avidity in embracing an early opportunity of sending her to Inace, where, it was then thought, the most polished manners were to be acquired.

In the autumn of the year 1514, when in the fourteenth year of her to the was honoured by being appointed one of the attendants of leavy the Eighth's sister, the Princess Mary, who, having been afficient to Louis XII., went to France with a considerable retinue to

written in French, expresses her delig troduced into the society of the princ greatly to improve her both in speak tells him that her governess, Simonette this letter entirely to herself, that nobe writing to him; and assures him of he life as he could desire.2 From the known and from the excellence of its compos must have been older than Camden's da her. A child of seven years of age cou letter. Besides, her father, it is probable her, nor would he have obtained for h appointment as attendant on the Princess Mary and her suite having proceeded to Louis on the 9th of October, 1514, in the becoming splendour and ceremony. Lou January, 1515, his widow soon after mari of Suffolk, and returned to England. B ing with her, remained in France at the

some others of her friends, and was pr recommendation of Mary the Queen-Do to an honourable situation in the cou

Louis XII. and

a had been introduced by her mother, Anne of Bretagne. To oung ladies of the nobility who were her attendants, her palace school of virtue and instruction. Their hours of leisure were wed in embroidery or in similar useful occupations, and their course with the other sex was only permitted under such reions as might tend to preserve decorum and purity of manners. ring her residence in the French court, Anne enjoyed the benefit society of the beloved sister of Francis I., Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alengon, and afterwards Queen of Navarre, a lady less distinguished for her virtues than for her talents, the sess of letters, scholars, poets, and philosophers, and a nursing er to the Reformed Church in France in its infancy. She had the advantage of the society of those learned and liberal-minded whom this enlightened and accomplished princess brought to maker for the intellectual improvement of herself and of others securt. Anne being of a lively and gay humour, the society of mret of Valois, in whom the lively and the grave were happily led would relieve the sombre monotony felt by a young person wanty in the society of Claude, whose sedate retiring manners partly owing to ill-health, and partly to natural disposition. had the pleasure, too, of often seeing her father, whom official a frequently brought to Paris.

enry VIII. having proclaimed war against France in 1522, Anne med to England, to the deep regret of the French monarch, and early of Queen Claude, who, with much reluctance, allowed her least. Her father, who was then ambassador at the French t, being recalled, is said by some historians to have brought her

is Lord Herbert, who is followed by Burnet and Rapin. Miss Berger says, that mad explication was made to Francis for her restoration, and that Anne in constrained to England, under whose protection is not specified by any his
Life of Anne Boleyn, vol. i., p. 197. Camden, Sir Roger Twysden, and several

spilars, assess to have been ignorant of the fact, which is now fully established, the manufact to England in 1522, for they make no mention of it, saying that

all is the French court till the death of Claude, which took place in July,

the which, not being yet wearied of France, she was received into an honour-

the most admired star in the French of the advantages which French politesse of Gay, sprightly, witty, graceful in he haviour, tasteful in her dress, singing with touching, like that of the nightingale; the ease and skill of a perfect mistress choice assemblage of charms, she was a and caressed in the English court. No coquetry; and with her fine bright eye for,

"Much as her form seduc'd the Her eyes could even more And when, and how to shoot Into men's hearts, full well For, sometimes, in repose, she Their rays beneath a downca And then, again, with waken Would send their sunny glake heralds of delight, to be Her heart's sweet messages

It is, however, only justice to add, that even according to the testimony of her gr by exemplary modesty.

After her introduction to the court, a r

se correspondence between her and that young nobleman. The ardinal ready to gratify Henry's wishes, never dreaming that she would rise higher than a royal mistress, severely reprimanded Percy making love to "a foolish girl," beneath him in rank, without askhis father's and the king's consent; and with the aid of the father, Earl of Northumberland, he succeeded in terminating the courtin for which he was afterwards regarded with no friendly feelings seither of the lovers. It may indeed be doubted whether Anne, longh she suppressed her resentment, and even afterwards professed warmest friendship towards him when she thought him willing ad able to advance her schemes of ambition, ever fully forgave him is the part he acted on this occasion. She was sent away from the ber father's house of Hever Castle, in Kent, while Lord buy, though permitted to remain at court, was forced to marry Mary Talbot, daughter to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, which graed out a most unhappy union." His marriage with that lady as solemnized in the autumn of the year 1523, as appears from a ster written by Anne's cousin, the Earl of Surrey, dated September that year, in which he says, "The marriage of my Lord Percy hall be with my lord steward's (Shrewsbury's) daughter, whereof I m the Chief baron is with my Lord of Northumberland to This letter fixes 1523 as the year in which was thus crossed, in what appears to have been her first love. Some time after Henry unexpectedly paid her a visit at Hever Castle, a knowing or suspecting his errand, she determined not to encouhis love advances, and, under pretence of indisposition, took to chamber, which she did not again quit till after his departure. Is ingratiate himself in her favour, he created her father Viscount Behford on July 18, 1525; and, to bring the whole family to the be appointed him treasurer of the royal household, and William

This made is still in good repair. It is at present in possession of the Medleys.

Carendiah's Life of Wolary, vol. i., pp. 57-69.

Linguis History of England, vol. vi., p. 112.

¹ Lingurd

Carey, her sister Mary's husband, a gentleman of the privy chamber. But her high spirit did not easily forget the affront put upon her by her dismissal from court, and the loss of her beloved Percy, whose countess, as Lord Herbert perhaps rightly observes, she would rather have been, than Henry's queen. Such was her continued chagrin, that she would not appear at court. Henry thus saw that her heart was not to be moulded to his wishes like wax; and when he first avowed his passion for her, she gave him distinctly to understand that she was not to stoop to dishonour. "Most noble king!" she replied, falling on her knees, "I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which shall be the greatest and the best part of the dowry that I shall bring my husband." By this honourable repulse Henry



Part of the Gallery in Hever Castle-

was not to be discouraged, and conscious of the splendid advantages he possessed, he declared that he would not abandon hope. Her answer was becoming a woman of virtue and self-respect: "I understand not, most mighty king! how you should retain any such hope. Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness, and

ause you have a queen already, and your mistress I will not ren Sanders and Cardinal Pole, who have so fiercely defamed it that she had declared it to the monarch to be her resolulevote her virtue to her husband, and to no one else. But ring her to have possessed a single good quality, the interthey put upon this is, that she was ambitious of becoming mort; a dignity to which she would have had little chance raised had she been willing to be Henry's mistress.2 But bable at that time was the prospect of her attaining such an that nothing, save the most inveterate prejudice, would he expression of her virtuous determination to a speculation ntingency of her becoming queen. How does the case stand? tion of Henry's divorce from Katharine of Aragon had not moved. Were we, however, to grant that there had been ret motions respecting it, its ever taking place was far from It would be unpopular in England. It would meet with strenuous opposition from Charles V. That the Pope would was extremely doubtful. And even should it be obtained, sh-minded monarch should set aside the considerations of icy, which were repugnant to his marrying a subject, and and to wed one of Anne's comparatively humble rank, who servant of his own queen, was what she could hardly have

particulars are taken from the Slosne MS., Life of Henry VIII., from his loss with Anne Boleyn to the death of Queen Katharine, in the British No. 229. This MS. was written in the 16th century, and as it takes the tax testimony in her favour is the more valuable.

The Schara Angl., p. 26.—Pol. ad Reg. Scotl., p. 176. Turner, in his the Reign of Heary VIII. (vol. ii., p. 191), speaking of Sanders's libels are and her family, says, "More wilful calumnies, I believe, never issued the person the press. He has a command of Latin style, but a most bitter at the English Reformation. The very next sentence after his defamation above as why he inserted it: 'She was addicted to the Lutheran heresy.'"

1. 25. Pole, in his work Pro Ecclesiastica Unitatis Defensione, a work to the revisal of the Roman pontiff, and the first edition of which was them, here upon her the vilest slanders, and never mentions her name polying to her some deeply defamatory sobriquet, as "meretricula," p. 390; "more Jeze-", p. 265; "meretricio amore," p. 336; "scortum," p. 280; "nova Jeze-", here

dreamed of, even in the enchanting moments when fancy most gorgeously painted the future. Can her becoming answers to the king be then justly represented as intended to cloak over ambitious designs with the semblance of virtue, as the cool and crafty calculation of the chances of dispossessing Katharine of Aragon, and succeeding her as Henry's wife and queen? It is more natural, as well as more just, to regard them as the unsophisticated utterances of a heart which trembled at the thought of sullied virtue and a dishonoured name.

In his endeavours to induce her to return to the court, Henry continued unremitting, and wrote her several entreating letters, breathing professions of the most ardent affection. But still she could not be prevailed upon to revisit the spot where her dearest and earliest hopes lay buried. After remaining for some time in her father's house, sorrowfully ruminating on her blighted prospects, she is supposed by Bishop Burnet to have gone again to France, and entered the service of her old friend and patroness, Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon. This journey, if it took place, would be about the beginning of the year 1526, when Francis I. had been released from his captivity in Spain, to the great joy of France, and especially of his sister, the Duchess of Alençon. Anne is supposed by the same historian to have returned to England with her father in 1527, when he was recalled from France, whither he had been sent that year, along with Sir Anthony Brown, to take the oath of the French king to a solemn league not long before concluded betwixt the crowns of England and France.1

The cause of Anne's final return from France to England may have been the marriage of her mistress, Margaret, with Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre, in the beginning of the year 1527. That event having rendered it necessary for Margaret to leave France for the family residence of the kings of Navarre, in Gascogne or Bearn, Sir Thomas Boleyn, naturally preferring that his daughter should return

¹ Heylin's History of the Reformation, edit. London, 1561, p. 86.

Eagland and to the English court, rather than retire to that haled residence among the Pyrenees, brought her home to England. By some Roman Catholic writers, as Sanders and Cardinal Pole, me is represented as having sunk, when in France, to the lowest ath of backneved and shameless profligacy. So extravagantly are their scandalous accusations, that to extract them would be pollute our pages; but this extravagant grossness is in itself a Scient proof that they are malignant slanders.1 The court of name during the period of Anne's residence in it was a school of and not that hotbed of licentiousness which it became during later years of the reign of Francis I.; and this her father knew, this diplomatic engagements had given him an opportunity of ming acquainted with its manners and habits. Had she been astoriously abandoned as to become a bye-word and a proverb all classes of Paris, as these Popish writers would have us to here, a queen of the strict virtue of Claude would not have conmed to retain her around her person. Besides, it is incredible, on such a supposition, that her father, who must have known what bely in Paris knew, would have permitted her to remain in a thatien where her virtue had been lost and her character ruined. in the case supposed, would Katharine, queen of Henry VIII., warm of unimpeachable moral purity, though superstitious, have mental to receive her as one of her maids of honour. Henry, to through Wolsey and his ambassadors was minutely acquainted th svery court of Europe, must have known it well, had she been blamons character described by these scandalmongers. And Henry, after his marriage, speaks to the Pope of "her approved ad execulent virtues; that is to say, the purity of her life, her conant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness

The contest with defaming Anne, they are equally scalous in assailing the reputation of his mother and sixter.—See these slanders combated in Burnet's Reformation, and provide and in Turner's Reign of Henry VIII., vol. ii., pp. 191, 430. Miss Wood, the compth of an old MS, vindicates the mother, but surrenders the defence of the larger Mary.—Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol ii., p. 193.

of Henry's affections, as a lady of unbler Metrical Versions he introduces her as say

"At home with my father a maider

The residence of Anne in the royal fa calculated to enlarge and liberalize her m The social circle in which she there mo length of throwing off the Papal yoke, and the Antichrist and the Man of Sin foretold alive to the corruptions of the Popish Ch to the lives of the clergy. It freely canvathe character of the Papal hierarchy, fro their ambition, avarice, idleness, libertinis engaged in war with that restless and domi and setting at defiance the anathemas of plated the deposition of his holiness, and ecclesiastical changes in France; and this ing the power of superstition over the mind and of impregnating them, so far, with li threatened to wrench the Church of France the Papal throne, should an ecclesiastic wh to the primacy. His mother Louise lets us

My son and I, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, begin to know the sporites, white, black, gray, smoky, of all colours-from whom my Heaven, of its clemency and infinite goodness, defend us; for if less Christ did not speak falsely, there is not a more dangerous in all human nature." 1 Margaret of Valois, the most intellecbal personage of the court, and a woman whose winning manners, mbined with her talents, gave her great influence over others, had spally little veneration for the Roman pontiff and the shavelings of 1 Papal hierarchy. Cardinal Wolsey, when ambassador in France 13H, mys in one of his despatches, "I devised with the king's ther, and she showed me many things of the Pope's act, which, if it le as she smith, his deeds be as little to his honour as may be." 2 and when the light of the Reformation broke in upon France, bringby into view the pure doctrines of the gospel, which had been for and overlaid by the impieties, superstitions, and describition of Popery, this illustrious lady was attracted by the implicity and beauty of divine truth. She became devoted to the mine and study of the sacred Scriptures, and earnestly inculcated the realing and study of them upon others. She was the friend and patrone of such men as Briconnet, Lefevre of Etaples, Farel, Vat-Arnold and Gerard Roussel, and other ardent apostles of reform. See delighted in conversing with them on the great doctrines of the poel and listened with the deepest attention and interest to their importations of God's Word, as well as encouraged them in boldly medianing the truth in Paris. Such was the society in which Ame Boleyn was daily and hourly mingling, and such were the excitwhich occupied no inconsiderable share of its attention al coveration. We have, indeed, no definite information as to a mission in the formation of her religious sentiments; but from we know of them afterwards, it may fairly be concluded that appeares of the Popish Church she heard in the French court,

^{17.434}

U.S. letter, dated 2d August, quoted in Turner's Reign of Henry VIII., vol. i.

had the effect of impairing, if not of destroying, her veneration for the Popedom, and that listening to the exposition of the pure doctrines of the gospel, pouring like honey from the honeycomb from the persuasive lips of Margaret of Valois, or of her protégés, she perceived their reasonableness and their truth. English and French historians of the best authority, agree in admitting that it was from her residence and intercourse with Margaret of Valois that she received the first grounds of the Protestant religion, and that to this source is to be traced the value which, as was afterwards shown, she attached to the Sacred Volume, and the protection she extended to such as were active in its circulation.

Whether Burnet's supposition as to Anne's return to France be correct or not, it is certain that she did not again appear at the English court till after an absence of four years, namely, in 1527, when Henry's contemplated divorce from his queen, Katharine of Aragon, had become generally known, and formed the all-engrossing conversational topic of the day.

On the return of Anne from France, Henry was as deeply enamoured with her as ever, and she was reappointed one of Queen Katharine's maids of honour. Hitherto, delicacy and respect for Katharine, her mistress, together with the shock given, by the loss of Lord Percy, to her affections, which she could not easily transfer to Henry, made her discourage his tender aspirations. "She stood still upon her guard," says an old memorialist, "and was not easily carried away with all this appearance of happiness; first, on account of the love she bare ever to the queen, whom she served, a personage of great virtue; and secondly, she imagined that there would be less freedom in her union with her lord and king, than with one still more suitable to her estate." This was true of her feelings and conduct

¹ The news "by secret ways and means" had reached Margaret, governess of Flanders, in August, 1527.—Letter of Wolsey to Henry VIII., dated Amyas, 11th August [1527], in State Papers, vol. i., p. 254. And about the same time they had reached Charles V.—Letter of Wolsey to Henry VIII., dated Campeigne, 5th September [1527], in ibid., vol. i., p. 257.

^{*} The Life of the Virtuous, Christian, and Renouned Queen Anne Boleyn, by George

ome years after her dismissal from the court; and after her in to it in 1527, she was deaf to his passionate addresses for than a year. To gain her heart he loaded her with presents, among other tokens of affection, he is said to have presented with a horologe. At last, the united importunities of Henry,



Binnings presented by Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn.

written at the close of the 16th century, in Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, vol. ii.

The was grandson of the poet, George Wyatt, Esq., and sixth son and heir of Sir

Wyatt the younger, who was beheaded for rebellion in the first year of the

of Queen Mary. He derived his information, as he tells us from Miss Anne

state, who attended on Anne both before and after she was queen, and from

the last of mobile birth, a relative of his own.

The appears from the love-letters Henry wrote to her after her return from If a letter in Miss Wood's Letters of Royal, &c., vol. ii., p. 14, translated Life of Queen Elizabeth, said to be from Anne Boleyn to Henry, the fact would be quite the reverse. From internal evidence it must refer at a without date-to the time of her appointment to be maid of honour to Queen arise in 1527, and it expresses the most idolatrous affection for Henry, and a to do or become whatever he should please. But this is so contrary to the tener of Henry's unquestionably authentic love-letters to her at this period, is show that she acted with great reserve, that we cannot believe in its authenti-Lett. indeed, too often draws upon his imagination to be an authority of much Most of these love-letters of Henry to her are in French. The originals are in Valena at Home, forming part of the Codices Vaticani, No. 3731. They were ined it has been supposed, "by some secret management, probably by Wolsey's and sent to Rome by Cardinal Campeggio. They have been pubed, incorrectly in some parts, in the third volume of the Harleian Miscellany, 12-62, and claswhere. Mr. Gun has given the most complete edition of them, being in the Pamphleteer, Nos. 42 and 43, correctly copied from autographs in her father, and others of her friends, who assured her that the king's marriage with Katharine was contrary to the divine law, and that the divorce was what must take place, prevailed, and she not only encouraged his advances, but became dazzled by the gilded splendours of royalty. The expectation of being one day the queen of the greatest monarch in Europe, became the pivot upon which her thoughts began and continued to turn. Still, perhaps, every now and then she wavered, partly from compunctions of conscience at the thought of inflicting wrong upon Katharine, and partly from the apprehension of finding the situation of queen-consort in the circumstances far from enviable; and it was not till Campeggio came to the English court, in October, 1529, with the professed design of granting the divorce, but with the real intention of doing nothing, that, seeing the highest authorities in the church, and her greatest enemies to all appearance favouring her advancement, she ceased to hesitate.

Wolsey, though not ignorant of Henry's vehement affection for Anne, probably never dreamed of its going farther than making her his mistress; or he imagined that if the monarch, in the fever of passion, had resolved upon making her his wife and queen, he would gradually cool and alter his intention.² It may be doubted whether Henry himself, till the last half of the year 1527, had decidedly and irrevocably formed such a resolution. Between July and October that year Wolsey was in France, negotiating a matrimonial alliance between his master and Renée, daughter of Louis XII., afterwards Duchess of Ferrara. This looks as if Henry's mind had not been altogether made up as to whom he should marry upon the divorce of his present queen. But his passion for Anne mightily increased

the Vatican palace, with a valuable introduction, and some fac-similies of the writing and notes."—Turner's History of the Reign of Henry VIII., vol. ii., p. 227. Turner has given the most of them in that work. "Their respectful language," he justly observes, "is an irresistible attestation of Anne Boleyn's virtue, and of the impression it had made upon her royal admirer." Our limits prevent us from giving an abstract of these effusions of royal affection.

¹ This is proved from Henry's love-letters to her.—See D'Aubigné's Reformation in England, book xx., chap. iii.

² Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, vol. i., p. 67.

thring Wolsey's absence, and obstacles being thrown in the way of the obtaining Renée, probably by the King of France, he recalled the codinal, and disclosed to him his intention of making Anne his wife. Astounded at the announcement, and disapproving of the match, the prelate fell at the feet of the monarch, imploring him for a bound hours, with the greatest earnestness, to reconsider his resolution. The monarch was inflexible. His purpose he was determined a accomplish, cost what it might. Wolsey behoved to yield his political and personal motives to the will of his master.

The liberal views acquired by Anne in the court of Claude, Queen of France, and in the court of Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre, papered her for reading, without prepossession, heretical books. Image other books of this kind she read with much interest Tynhalis Obedience of a Christian Man—a bold performance, in which the uther vindicates the diffusion of the Scriptures in the mother tages, unfolds the duties of men in their different relations and ambitions of life, exposes the false power claimed by the Pope, and columns the Popish doctrines of penance, confession, satisfactions, abslution, miracles, the worshipping of saints, and other Popish tages.

The history of a book, could it be told, would often be as remarkable and instructive as that of an individual. Anne's copy of Tynhale's work caused some striking incidents about the year 1529. It unwarded one of her household to Protestantism; it had well-nigh brought down upon his head the penalties of heresy; and it ultimately fell into the hands of Henry, who read it with advantage. She had lent it to a beautiful young lady, one of her attendants, his Gainsford; or, according to another account, this lady, finding a lying in a window where her mistress had left it, took it up to

I have in one letter ablicased to the cardinal, expresses the warmest gratitude for selects to obtain for her the crown matrimonial of England. In another, written to make he had "abandoned her interests to embrace those of the queen," she is full abligation. She cannot comprehend how, after "having allured her and Henry "many fine promises about divorce," he had endeavoured "to hinder the con-

read it. But in whatever way it fell into her hands, she was employed in reading it when a young gentleman, also in Anne's service, of comely person and great snavity of disposition, named George Zouch, who was courting her, and to whom she was afterwards married, paid her one of his visits. Zouch, wishing to have some tender and agreeable talk with his fair Geraldine, was annoyed at the apparently exclusive attention she was bestowing upon the book; and he snatched it from her hands in frolic. At this moment, being



Miss Gainsford and Zouch, her lover.

called to attend on her mistress, she left him; and as she did not return for a considerable time, he went away, carrying with him the book, thinking it was her own. Retiring to his own apartment, he began to read it; his attention was instantly rivetted by its contents; it opened up to him new views, and awakened in him new thoughts. "The Spirit of God," says the old annalist quoted by Strype, "spake

how in the heart of the reader as at first it did in the heart of the inthor of the book, so that he was never well but when he was readit" Miss Gainsford, afraid of offending her mistress, entreated hin with tears to deliver it up. So deeply had it impressed him, and so carnest was he to master its doctrines, that "he was as ready to "at the thought of parting with it, and he still kept it. He even arried it with him when he attended the chapel royal; and at the very time when the music, chantings, kneelings, crossings, and muttriage in an unknown tongue were going on, he stood poring over hedless of the superstitious services performing before him. Dr. Sangeon, dean of the chapel, who usually officiated, observing his station wholly absorbed in reading some book, the curiosity of the was excited, and calling the young gentleman up to him, he miely took the book out of his hands, and perceiving from the titleme its heretical character, demanded, in an impertinent and snappich tome, as if little doubting that he had encountered a real heretic, What is your name, and in whose service are you?" The dean the wards delivered the book to Cardinal Wolsey, who had enjoined the dergy, and especially Dr. Sampson, to exercise the strictest village in order to prevent heretical books from obtaining circulatim or getting into the hands of the king, lest they should corrupt lis Roman Catholic principles, and make him an enemy of the durch. Zouch being sent for by the cardinal, was fully examined serning the book, and he would have been brought into trouble, hal it not been found that he was in the service of a lady so beloved by the king as was Anne Boleyn, which made the cardinal think it wold be better to delay proceeding farther till he had first consulted is majesty. Meanwhile Zouch, having explained the whole affair to Was Gainsford, the young lady, in dread of having involved both herand her mistress in danger, fell on her knees before Anne, and wing her all the facts of the case, implored forgiveness. bard all without expressing the least dissatisfaction, either with the by or with her lover; but knowing that for any person to have a book in his possession was enough to convict him of heresy,

away." Without delay she went to the ki her knees before him, imparted to him the him that the book was hers, prayed him to and tenderly besought him to read it for detestable a production as Dr. Sampson and to believe, telling him that she had noted the nail of her finger as being, in her judg of the attention of his majesty.

After she had withdrawn from the royal p with the book in his hand, to point out su thought would rouse the indignation of the plain of the favourers of such books in gene women, with the design, as may be suppose directly to attack Anne, had he found the ki But Henry, who before this had become cold took the book into his hand, and opening it, marked by Anne with her nail, at whice remarking that they seemed very good. I more carefully in his closet, and was so deligitions of Papal usurpations, and its vindication tratical authority, that he afterwards said to for me and for all kings to read." 1

According to the chronicler from whom Strype derives his narntive the reading of Tyndale's work had a powerful influence in coming Henry's eyes to the truth, and in causing him to pursue the course by which England was emancipated from Papal domina-"In a little time," says he, "by the help of this virtuous lady, by the means aforesaid, the king had his eyes opened to the truth, to attance God's religion and glory, to abhor the Pope's doctrine, his lies, his pomp and pride, to deliver his subjects out of Egyptian darkness, the Babylonian bonds that the Pope had brought his subjects under. And so contemning the threats of all the world, rebellions of his misets at home, and the raging of so many and mighty potentates brad, he set forward a reformation in religion, beginning with the triple-crowned head at first, and so came down to the members, likes, abbots, priests, and such like." To the eulogium pronomed in the first part of this extract Henry is certainly not stilled. His eyes were never opened to the truth; his aim never va to advance God's religion and glory; he never abhorred the Profs doctrine and lies. And perhaps also, in the latter part of the estract fally too much is attributed to the incident of the monarch's The Obedience of a Christian Man. For some years after he last intention of throwing off the Pope's authority, a step to which at lat, contrary to his wishes, he was impelled by his violent and appropriate temper, in consequence of the Pope's refusal to grant him the much-wished-for divorce. Tyndale's work, however, having be brought under his notice at a time when he was quite in a



-

dramatic form;—as an example of the manuer in which this gifted and popular author sometimes dramatizes his historical compositions.

1 "The first pope who caused himself to be crowned was Damasus II., in the year 1048; which ceremony has since been observed by all his successors. Urban V., by others reckoned VI., was the first who used the triple crown, commonly called the first, which he did to show that the pretended vicar of Christ is possessed of a threefold power, the pontifical, imperial, and royal. For the same reason Peter was wont to be painted,

was be seen still in the palace of the Vatican, holding three keys in his right had Brane's Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery, p. 38.

merely the flattering compliment of a w good graces of the lady who had recom perusal.

At last having obtained an opinion fav the majority of foreign universities, wh Thomas Cranmer, afterwards Archbishop consulted, Henry, indignant at the dissimu Pope, from whom he was now hopeless of for himself the Gordian knot by marrying 25th of January, 1533. This is the date Annals, who states that the ceremony was land Lee, afterwards Bishop of Chester. much about St. Paul's day," that is, the 25 reported throughout a great part of the kin performed the ceremony; but he denies the affirms that he "knew not thereof a fortnig Whether the marriage was preceded by the from Katharine of Aragon, though this is a temporary authorities,3 is doubtful. If no would satisfy himself by resting its validity first marriage, being contrary to the law of beginning.

! Hall and Holingh

CHAPTER II.

INNATION OF POPISH PRIESTS AT HER MARRIAGE WITH HENRY VIII.,
AND HER PATRONAGE OF THE REFORMERS AND OF LEARNING.

THEST outcry was raised against Henry's marriage with Anne the Popish priests, all of whom, with the exception of such as been infected with heresy, were in favour of Queen Katharine d of the legality of her marriage. One of them, Friar Peto, of the der of the Observants of Greenwich monastery, and Queen Kathaas's confessor, openly denounced the monarch in a sermon preached fre his majesty, in the royal chapel at Greenwich, on the 1st of sy. The subject of the friar's homily was the latter part of the by of Ahab, which he boldly applied to the king, saying, "Where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, even there shall the dogs lick y blood also, O king;" and after telling him that he had been by lying prophets, added, pretending a divine commission, I am that Micheas whom thou wilt hate, because I must tell thee by that this marriage is unlawful; and I know I shall eat the read of affliction, and drink the water of sorrow, yet because our and both put it into my mouth, I must speak of it." Under this stburst of vituperation the king betrayed no symptoms of impaso or displeasure; but, to prevent its repetition, he provided that the following Sabbath the pulpit of the royal chapel should be called by a more friendly preacher, Dr. Curwen, one of the royal mains Curwen vindicated the king's marriage, branded Peto as dog slanderer, base beggarly friar, close man, rebel, and traitor; at in the close, after calling upon him in vain to appear in selfblace, stigmatized him as a coward. This roused the indignation smother Observant friar of Greenwich monastery, named Elstow, to vociferated from the gallery that Peto was necessarily absent at provincial council at Canterbury, but would return to-morrow, line "I am here, as another Micheas, and will lay down my life

tion, than for discharge of thy clogged salvation." Elstow's vehemence, like th rent, increased as he proceeded, and he co the king bade him hold his peace, and go should be brought before the privy com following day, and they were rebuked for punishment for such a tyrant as Henry offence. Upon their escaping so easily, t that they deserved to be put into a sack With a sarcastic smile, and as if thirsti rejoined, "Threaten these things to rich clothed in purple, fare deliciously, and h this world; for we esteem them not, but charge of our duties we are driven hence we know the way to heaven to be as read therefore we care not which way we g austere sanctity and of a high sense of such as know the real state of the En period. The monastery of Greenwich v

endless perdition, more for thy own vall

Other Popish priests were equally vi opposition to the new marriage. A pari

and its friars banished the kingdom.2

venture to call the Lady Anne Boleyn queen at Bugden have his head knocked to a post.

the priest who filled the chair of St. Peter at Rome was, if filled with still deeper indignation, and impelled partly by V, partly by his cardinals, and partly by resentment at the all of his authority, proceeded, as we have seen in the Introto extreme measures against Henry, the result of which was a English sovereign, with the assistance of his parliament, the Papal supremacy, and adopted a variety of measures the Popish system in England.

both from judgment and from interest, heartily concurred formidable innovations. To confirm her anti-Papal sentilearned and pious persons who had access to her, presented or her marriage with various books relating to the controthen agitated touching religion; and especially touching the ity of the Pope and his clergy, and their evil practices against all commonwealths. 2

the struggling cause of infant Protestantism in England, the sen rendered important services, for which she is entitled to add remembrance of posterity. She encouraged and addramed and worthy men, who promised to be useful in the She protected the Reformers from the machinations and most their enemies. She promoted the printing and circulation used Scriptures; and she maintained promising young men enemies.

the individuals of the reformed party indebted to her any for advancement, was Nicholas Shaxton, a man who, are years after he turned out a persecutor of the reformed was that time its ardent advocate; and whose burning zeal with as 1530 so provoked the wrath of Richard Nix, the old was the control of the new learning, that

^{*} Paper Office Missell. Letters, quoted in Miss Wood's Letters of Royal and in Letter, vol. ii., p. 205.

and non-resident; and on the 28th of the

before the queen. Another eminent man, specially favor Latimer, the noblest character at that ti by whom he had probably been first in assured of her powerful protection, licer the year 1534, to preach throughout the bishopric of Canterbury. In a letter dated that for doing this he had already "suffe Latimer, besides being similarly treated, gered." But disregarding the wrath of S Gardiner, and others of the same stamp, Latimer, honouring his piety and judgme instance and request," he "licensed div province of Canterbury," a degree of bo Cranmer's timidity and caution, could have enjoying the encouraging support of the q of the king and queen, he also summon preach before their majesties on all the W from the 10th of February to the 24th of solicitous that his friend should gain accer

tors, he advised him through his secretary, "to be very circumspect, to overpass and latimer, it would appear, was a long preacher, which is further afred from the length of his printed sermons-"lest the king if the queen wax weary at the beginning," or "have small delight satinue throughout with you to the end." Of these sermons no somens now remain, and as to their subject-matter we have no daits information. We only know in general that Latimer boldly of faithfully spoke the truth before their majesties, which they ers seldom accustomed to hear; and such was the favourable pression he produced on their minds, especially on the mind of that in September that same year he was appointed Bishop Wernester, on the deprivation of Cardinal Jerome de Ghinuccii, a Italian.1 So highly respected was he by the queen, and such was e confidence in his wisdom, that she entreated him to point out that was amiss in her conduct, that she might correct it. "She had rocced to her chaptains" (Shaxton and Latimer), says Wyatt, and of great learning, and of no less honest conversing, whom she with hers heard much, and privately she heard them willingly and to admonish her, and she exhorted and encouraged them so 600

In 1833 or 1534 she promoted Matthew Parker, a Reformer, afterwals Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to be by chaplain, upon the death of Mr. Betts, "a good man and maless and so remained" (as Foxe describes him), who held that "Milliam Barlow, afterwards Bishop of St. David's in the time of Henry VIII., of Bath and Wells in the time of Edward VI., and of Chichester in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was indebted to Architecture. In the church. And in a letter to Architecture, in reference to a benefice she solicited for Barlow, she adds, in a postscript, "My Lord, I beseech your grace to

I leave de Ghinnerii was at one time auditor of the apostolic chamber. He was a proper who in 1518 summoned Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days. He and the results made Bishop of Worcester, of which dignity he was deprived in 1534, the proper of his being a foreigner and non-resident. He had, in fact, never seen the condition of the English Bible, vol. i., pp. 249, 441, 442, 487.

¹ Strype's Life of Purker, Oxford, 1821, vol. i., p. 14.

truly gained over by the Romanists. I with great constancy, for denying the June, 1540.³

Among other excellent men in whose herself was Dr. Crome, incumbent of St. ledged learning and piety, and a preache being deficient in intrepid resolution, the he was in danger at different times, excondemned by his better judgment.³ I moted to the rectorship of St. Mary's, A some time, from causes not explained, reshis formal and legal admission into the him a letter, expressing it as her pleasur throw obstacles in the way of his speedy Anne had read with entire approbati

Anne had read with entire approbati in defence of the circulation of the S tongue, contained in Tyndale's *Obedien* acting upon these enlightened views, she the disseminators of the sacred volume. this we find in the protection she extend

Strype's Annals of the Reformation under Eliz
 Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i

he first to engage in importing Tyndale's English version of the New Testament into England, namely, Richard Harman, a citizen of Antwerp, and merchant in the English house of that city. Harman's and had involved him in persecution, and even endangered his life. it roused the fury of Cardinal Wolsey; and, in 1528, the cardinal, by means of the English ambassador Hackett, resident in the Netherhada requested Princess Margaret,1 then regent of that country, to Harman, with the view of his being immediately sent into England. Margaret and her council agreed to apprehend him, and a medition of his being found guilty, either to send him into England or to punish him according to his deserts. In July that year be and his wife, who was not less obnoxious for heresy than himself, was taken prisoners at Antwerp, and an inventory was made of all their goods for behoof of the emperor. This, however, did not satisfy the intelerant Hackett, who, afraid that Harman might be permitted by the Netherlands government to escape with impunity, urged Wolsey with great earnestness to call upon that government to seiver him up as guilty not only of heresy but of treason. "In this we may have two strings to our bow: for I doubt postly, after the statutes of these countries, that, revoking his browies, for the first time he will escape with a slender punishment; be for treason to the king, they cannot pardon him in these parts, the statutes of our intercourse, dated the year 1505."2 Acting you this suggestion, Wolsey transmitted to Hackett royal letters, Purnating him to seize Harman as a traitor. But Margaret sterposed her veto, wishing, before delivering up Harman, to be

Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and aunt of Charles V. She died Demaker, 1530, having governed the Netherlands eighteen years. Brandt's History of the Beforeaction in the Low Countries, vol. i., p. 59.

The same here is to the treaty in the reign of Henry VII., 1505, in which was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either prince by a other; purporsing, that if any such rebel should be required by the prince, whose he is was of the prince confederate, that forthwith the prince confederate should by prince command him to avoid the country; which, if he did not, within fifteen trut, the refed was to stand proscribed, and be put out of protection."—Bacon's Easy VII.

with the English house at Antwerp, throug Hackett and Wolsey. And "every one acc of the Hanse towns knows how much had

A ISOHIHCHE, AND DY MIS CACISION



The English House, Antwerp-

feiture of his privileges as a merchant adhouse,' like all these towns, exercised a judic its members, and punished them by a specie munication. Mr. Harman had evidently b ha man who had imported the Sacred Volume, and done so at at worldly sacrifices, she wrote a letter to Cromwell in his behalf, corginal of which is still in existence.

"ANNE THE QUEEN.

There and right well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas be credibly informed that the bearer hereof, Richard Harman, wretant and citizen of Antwerp, in Brabant, was, in the time of is life Lord Cardinal, put and expelled from his freedom and fellowin of and in the English house there, for nothing else (as he drueth) but only for that he still, like a good Christian man, did, ath with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hindrance in world, help to the setting forth of the New Testament in Engthe we therefore desire and instantly pray you, that with all ped and favour convenient, ye will cause this good and honest merman, being my lord's true, faithful, and loving subject, to be restored b his pristine freedom, liberty, and fellowship aforesaid, and the this our request, and at your good leisure to hear him on things as he hath to make further relation unto you in this diven under our signet, at my lord's manor of Greenwich, the 14th day of May,

"To our trusty and right well-beloved, Thomas Cromwell, squire, Chief Secretary unto my Lord the King's Highness." 2

This letter, though the date of the year is not given, was probably with in 1534; and if so, Cromwell had been made chief secretary that only a week before, and the act of justice to Harman here wanted, must have been one of his earliest acts in his new office.

To do full justice to Anne Boleyn for her gracious interposition in

Is the original, the pen has been drawn across the words "still like a good Christian." Home Strype has omitted them altogether, and Sir Henry Ellis has been a note at the bottom of the page. But there is reason to think that had person has perpetrated this erasure. The words are in harmony with the table person has perpetrated the erasure. The words are in harmony with the state part of the letter, and there is no conceivable reason why, having once written has a should then obliterate them.

² Din's Original Letters, first series, vol. ii , pp. 45, 46.

the pretext that it contained "many c as also certain prefaces and other pes for the advancement and setting forth of l sies." In the same year Cuthbert Tonst similar reasons, denounced it, both the co without them, and charged his archdes archdeaconries to bring in and deliv possessed to his vicar-general, within 1527, Warham, Archbishop of Canter copies of Tyndale's New Testament he might be destroyed, expending in such to not less than £1000 of our present m year, the readers and importers of the punished. In 1529 Tonstal had purchase New Testament which he could find in I he made a bonfire of them, and of other l church-yard, London. In 1532 Sir Thor stake such as affirmed that it is lawful for have God's word in their mother tongue which Anne Boleyn lived, and such was those by whom she was surrounded; for ham were now in their graves, and Sir ! the courtiers, with few exceptions, were 1 ghts and privileges of which on that account he had been unjustly spived, was no small proof of her enlightened understanding, her small courage, and her Christian humanity. Being still the object the Henry's idolatrous affection, she could bend his will in this stance to the side of justice; and neither Tonstal, Gardiner, tokely, nor her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, much as they hated the emptures and their circulation among the people, dared to express her dissent, lest by opposing the queen they should excite the dissenure of the monarch.

The queen's friendly interference in behalf of Harman, and her avourable sentiments as to the diffusion of the Word of God in the other tongue, was soon made known to Tyndale, who was now at latwerp, about to print in that city a new and improved edition of New Testament, and the tidings were felt by him as a great souragement. Surrounded by numerous and powerful enemies, the were thirsting for his blood, and who to open hostility added and artful treachery, it cheered him to know that a woman of has influence appreciated his labours, and sympathized with the drings of himself and of others engaged in the same cause. Not se in high places in England had ventured, like her, to plead the of Bible circulation, and to give the sanction of their name to is translation. He had received this intelligence probably from Harnan himself, before he had begun to print his new and improved tion of the New Testament, and in expression of his gratitude to goen, when the work was passing through the press, he ordered s mpy to be beautifully printed on vellum with illuminations, model as a present to her, and he got it bound in blue morocco, these words upon the gilding of the leaves, in large red letters, ANNA REGINA ANGLIA."2

The printing of this edition was finished in the month of November, 1534.

After person through various hands, this elegant copy came into the possession of its lies, Carrier Mordanut Cracherode, who bequeathed it, with his large and valuable to the Briefsh Museum, into which it was brought after his death, in April, 1799, and show it is now preserved.

which was by sending a hired agent from England integrated by sending a hired agent from England integrated to make every effort to induce the government of according to the persecuting laws then in force, to appure Tyndale as an heretic, the plot was carefully confirm. No good reason can be assigned for this but lest Anne, had she been apprised of their intentions, effectually defeated them, by her powerful intercession king in behalf of Tyndale.

There is even ground for believing that Anne had a moted the printing of the first edition of the New Testan in England; which was Tyndale's English translation. T editions had been issued from the press at Antwerp. I was printed in London, by his majesty's printer, in foli valuable prologues of that Reformer prefixed to each of books, and with his long-proscribed name exhibited o page. It was published in the year 1536, though in all the printing of it had commenced in the close of the The name of the printer, who was Thomas Berthelet, does

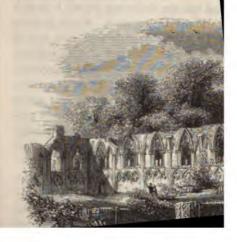
Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i., p. 417. The plot of the beginning of the year 1535 Tyndale was arrested at Antwerp, and tastle of Vilvorde, a distance of twenty-three and a half miles. Af prisoned nearly two years in that castle, he was condemned to the condemn

spear on the title-page, but the most competent judges, as Ames, Revert, and Dibdin, maintain that it must have proceeded from his ress; and the type, as well as the ornamental title of the boys in rimph, peculiar to his press, place this beyond dispute. The hisbry of the printing of this edition is involved in mystery; but the emensive style of its execution, and its issuing from the press of the bing's printer, bespeak it as undertaken under high authority. Bertelet himself was indifferent about the Word of God. In 1530 he lad officially printed a royal proclamation prohibiting any from baving copies of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongues, English, Fresch and Dutch, that is, German; and he was not the man to print so obnoxious and heretical a book as Tyndale's New Testament, hid be thereby been exposed to danger. He must therefore have em employed by such as had both the ability and the will to protect in doing so, as well as to pay the expenses. Would he have himself secure under any other patronage save that of malty? If not, under whose auspices but those of Anne could he have engaged in this undertaking? Such a supposition is certainly a larmony with her expressed approbation of Tyndale's version. and her enruest intercession in behalf of Harman, its most active minuter. In the Manual of Devotions, said to have been preental by her to her maids of honour, the following striking passage expressing gratitude to God for the approbation the king had to the publication of the Scriptures in the English tongue ;-"Grant us, most merciful Father, this one of the greatest gifts that wer thou gavest to mankind, the knowledge of thy holy will and that tidings of our salvation; this great while oppressed with the brains of thy adversary of Rome, and his fautors, and kept close ader his Latin letters; and now at length promulgated, published, mi set at liberty, by the grace poured into the heart of thy supreme power, our prince, as all kings' hearts be in thy hand, as in the old hw thou didst use like mercy to thy people of Israel by thy high

[&]quot;Many years after this, namely, in 1546, he printed the proclamation which de-

in favour of the circulation of the Scrip by whose influence was it more likely to that of Anne? This edition of Tyndale seem, was one of the fruits of that chang

To studious youths in narrow circums favoured the Reformation, Anne was also a Aylmer, afterwards tutor to the celebra indebted to her liberality for the ability t



william Thornton having gained the election, March 2, 1530, of received the temporalities, April 10. Anne, however, from the paly favourable accounts she had received of his character and pacity, made provision for his continuing to prosecute his studies. In thornton having, in violation of an express agreement at the set of his election, removed Aylmer from the university, and toght him to St. Mary's Abbey, in which he employed him in train menial offices, Anne, upon the complaint of Aylmer or of the of his friends, immediately ordered Thornton to allow Aylmer return to the university of Cambridge.

Strype, in his Historical Collections, has recorded the names of her ingenious young men, converts to the new opinions, and afterand celebrated in their day, who were supported by her at the aiversity. "She was very nobly charitable, and expended largely in manner of acts of liberality, according to her high quality. And the rest of her ways of showing this Christian virtue, she favourer of learning, together with her father, the Lord Tablire and the Lord Rochford, her brother, maintained divers regions men at the universities. Among the rest were these men tasts: Dr. Hethe, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Lord Chan-Dr. Thirlby, afterwards Bishop of Ely; and Mr. Paget, derwards Lord Paget, and Secretary of State: all whom in her were favourers of the gospel, though afterwards they relapsed. M Part one hath observed that he was a most earnest Protestant, al being in Cambridge, gave unto one Reynold West Luther's and other books of the Germans, as Franciscus Lambertus de sand that at that time he read Melancthon's Rhetoric openly a Trinity Hall, and was a maintainer of Dr. Barnes, and all the Intestants then in Cambridge, and helped many religious persons of their cowls." Dr. Bill, master of St. John's College Camrige Dean of Westminster, almoner to Queen Elizabeth, and a

Mex. End, vol. i., part i., p. 430.

he her letter to Thornton to this effect, in Miss Wood's Letters of Royal and Il-

For some time after her marriage som tion may have existed; but she grad sought her happiness in devotion as Her selecting for her attendants he reputation, was one proof of at least commendable prudence. The spare h ladies were occupied in tapestry work, and others in making garments for the purse she relieved the wants of the need planned the institution of manufactures manent employment, and established by for the education of promising youths. first she had in court drawn about he ladies2 of great honour, and yet more cho undoubted witnesses of her spousal integ with all the recommendations of well-or yet, above all, by her own example, she a torch, that all might take light of, bei

to her attendant or

¹ Strype's Life of Sir John Clerke, Oxford, 1821, ² "To every one of these," says Singer, "she gav written on vellum, and bound in covers of solid go cover, to hang it at their girdles, for their constant a little volumes, traditionally said to have been given

as have seen at Hampton Court the rich and exquisite works, the greater part wrought by her own hand and needle, and those wrought by her ladies, esteem them the most precious miture, and amongst the most sumptuous that any prince may be - And yet far more rich and precious were those works the sight of God, which she caused her maids and those about her by to work in shirts and smocks for the poor. But not staying her eye of charity, her hand of bounty passed through the ble land; each place felt that heavenly flame burning in her; all ses will remember it, no room being left for vain flames, no time tille thoughts. Her ordinary amounted to fifteen hundred pounds the least yearly, to be bestowed on the poor, Her provisions of ok for the poor in sundry needy parishes was very great. Out of r privy purse went not a little to like purposes; to scholars in Million very much: so that in three quarters of a year her alms medimated at fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds."

CHAPTER III.

THE ATTEMPTED EXTORTION OF EVIDENCE AGAINST HER FROM THE ALLEGED ACCOMPLICES.

the boen justly remarked that Providence often punishes us by the cour desires, and favours us by the them. Had the course interposed to prevent Anne's advancement to be the course of England, of which she was so passionately desirous, this, and adverse to her wishes, would, had she been able to penetrate the fature, have been a mercy, calling forth her deepest gratitude. Her situation was extremely perilous, though she was not aware the full extent of its perils. In the first place, Henry being one the most capricious of beings, to have any connection with him

necessary to his happiness. With hall that was lovable and lovely in the perilled the peace of his kingdom. In had lavished upon her honours and six years to obtain her in wedlock, stances, would have been good securiful But Henry was not to be judged by or when he possessed her, might soon be charms of another, and in that event ther off.

In the second place, she was surro enemies, both male and female, in the conthirsting for her ruin. Her removal, the way for the restoration of England and some of these leading personages we opportunity to accomplish her downfal Norfolk," says Burnet, "at court, and (France], thought there might easily be for the king both with the emperor and enemerone out of the way, for then he may pleased, and that marriage, with the madisputed; whereas, so long as the queen judged null from the content of the same and the same and

to look upon her with altered countenance, and to speak to is in an altered tone. His former admiration and tenderness gave to indifference, which at last settled into inveterate hatred. was his state of feeling towards her when she was near the eriod of her second confinement. On the 29th of January, 1536, was prematurely delivered of a dead son, and her life was believed be in danger. Some have attributed this premature birth to sed caused by the king's decayed affection and unkindness, for she al observed his rising passion for Jane Seymour, and this had majored some disagreeable words between her and his majesty. there have ascribed it to alarm, excited by the intelligence that he ad been thrown from his horse while hunting. But whether it twing to the one or the other of these causes, or to both combined, be king, it is certain, so far from cherishing and comforting his growful wife in her afflicted circumstances, treated her harshly, Is is even said to have inhumanly reproached her with the loss of schild, telling her that he would have no more boys by her. 1 Ibee cruel, outrageous words, so different from what she had been accustomed to hear from his lips—these words of fatal augury, ignal of the coming storm, and the sullen tone in which they was spoken-sent pangs of agony to her wounded heart. But the could not fail to see the total revolution his affections and undergone, she did not and could not now anticipate all that was to follow.

Her enemies, on the watch for her overthrow, had observed his pring coldness towards her, which they now laboured with malignational industry to increase, by filling his ears with reports injurious to her conjugal fidelity; and her open frank disposition, which made her of easy access, and led her to allow her domestics a freedom in saversing with her not consonant to the restraints of royal etipate afforded these liers in wait an opportunity of representing her as being on terms of unlawful familiarity with some of her at-

by Lady Wingfield upon cath on he chastity; which is said to have mind of Henry, for he was naturall credulous. His eager desire to be that he might exalt another, to wh heart, to his bed and throne, would These various passions combined, overmastering influence of which against every feeling of compassion, a est dye, easily account for his haste Anne, and for his unrelenting cruelt that dreadful end which has imparted history.

Before the queen had fully recovery

Before the queen had fully recovered feebleness of frame caused by her produces of her boy, investigations into her with the sanction of Henry. On the mission was formally appointed, considered, expressly for this purpose; but pointment of this commission, scandalo have been collected, and various deliberation regard to it, and its consequences as

wen life. The men selected for this commission were the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; the Earls of Oxford and Westmoreland, Wiltairs and Sussex ; Lord Sands ; Sirs William Fitz-james, William Polet, John Fitz-james, John Baldwin, Richard Lyster, John Porte, John Spelman, Walter Luke, Anthony Fitz-herbert, Thomas Inglefold and William Shelly, with Audley as Lord Chancellor, and Secretary Cromwell. But what was the character of these men? This is important question, as it will serve to assist us in determining the mount of justice and impartiality to be expected from such judges. All of them were slaves to the will of Henry, and, with one or two exentions, the determined supporters of Popery. "Here was Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who, though her maternal uncle, hated the queen so cordially as he did the new learning; Charles Brandon, Duke of Satfolk, Henry's brother-in-law and special favourite, so ready to entify him in all his humours; John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who suported all the measures of the court; Robert Radcliff, who had len restored to honour by Henry as Lord Fitz-walter, in 1525, and then created Earl of Sussex; William Sands, the Lord Chambrain of the king's household, who had been made a baron, and at the Buckingham estates. Here we have eleven knights, eight of when were compliant judges; and as for another, William Paulett, the Comptroller of the king's house, he was a man of the most convaient politics, who, when asked, at the end of a long life, how he preserved himself through so many changes? answered, 'By being willow and not an oak.' Audley was always obsequious to his mal master; and as to Cromwell, the share he took in this business wat weak for itself, in connection with his future career. But with mand to the Earl of Wiltshire, the father of the queen and of Lord Residend, his name being inserted, was a stroke of hand quite wethy of Henry's barbarity, and must have been done to save ap-His name never occurs afterwards, and it is certain that la did not preside at the mock trial."

Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i., p. 462. Burnet at first inserted

his breast as it were the assassin's kn would startle him both in his waking too, had presentiments, warning her, l thing terrible looming in the distance mation of most historians to the cont altogether ignorant of the conspiracy f seems, from her knowledge of Henry's rumours communicated to her, to have fatal issue. About a day or two after commission to inquire into her conduc interview with her chaplain, Matthew P great anxiety about her daughter El education she with solemn earnestnes charge.1 To this scene Parker refers Elizabeth's councillors, in which, while of Canterbury, he says, "Yet I would ! in more respects than my allegiance, words her grace's mother said to me ne hension."3

On the first day of May, called May Greenwich, the king had a splendid t and on that day he gave the first pub intentions against the queen. Though that your time sittle. ad been settled, two of them, her brother Lord Rochfield, and Sir larry Norris, were the principal actors in the amusements of the byard, the one being the chief challenger, and the other the fendant, while she sat by the side of the king witnessing the



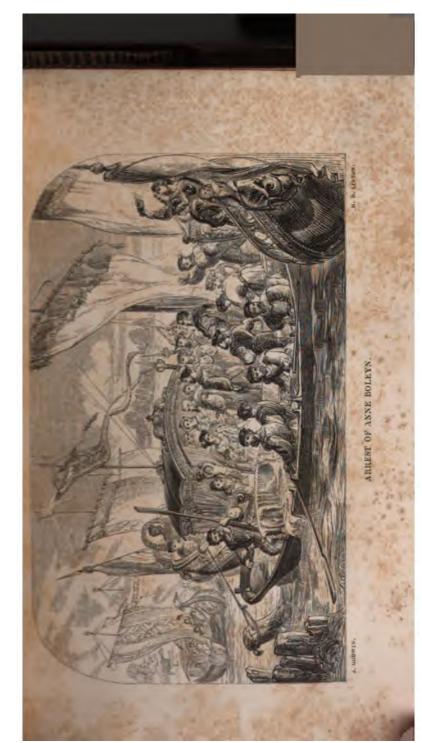
Arms charging Mailber Parker to take charge of the education of her daughter-

intent upon discovering, from the conduct of his wife, some-

Of this there can be no doubt. On the 14th of April, 1536, Henry dissolved a local which had not for six years. On the 27th of that month writs were issued to meet on the 8th of June. And that the conspiracy against had here matured when these writs were issued, that is, four days before the had here matured when these writs were issued, that is, four days before the had here as wident from Sir Thomas Andley, the Lord Chancellor's address at a second of the new Parliament; in which he tells them that his majesty's objects are the second of the second, in case he should die without children lawfully begotten; in the property of the second of the crown, to make of the king by Queen Anne Boleyn." These objects, it thus appears, were

upon deriving amusement from their feats of arms. The interest she would naturally evince, and the gratification she would naturally express, on witnessing the achievements of an accomplished and beloved brother, and of a gallant knight of her acquaintance, anxious to win her approbation, would almost inevitably rouse the suspicions of Henry. The particular incident upon which he first openly expressed his displeasure is not known with certainty. It is said to have been upon the queen's having dropped a handkerchief to one of the combatants, heated in the course, to wipe his face, a use to which he instantly applied it. 1 This, if true, either excited Henry's jealousy, or afforded him, as he thought, a plausible pretext for giving vent to his pent-up hatred against her, and suddenly rising from his seat, he withdrew from the balcony in great wrath. Extremely alarmed, she immediately hurried after him to inquire the cause; which, however, from rumours previously conveyed to her, she probably conjectured. The king, who had renounced all idea of being ever again reconciled to her, that she might not see him again, which she never did, had mounted his horse for Westminster with only six attendants, one of whom was Sir Henry Norris, leaving orders that she should not quit her apartments. On the way he minutely examined Norris, putting to him a thousand questions with great earnestness, and promising him his freedom provided he would make disclosures; but Norris on no consideration would criminate the queen. He was therefore committed to the Tower next day, being the 2d of May, and on the same day, Sir Francis Weston, with Lord Rochford, were also imprisoned in the Tower. Anne had resolved to proceed in the afternoon of that day to Westminster, to meet with the king, and endeavour to allay his irritation. But she had not proceeded far up the river on her way, when her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, who, throughout the whole of the proceedings against her, acted a very

¹ Sanders is the sole authority, and he is certainly not one of the best, for her dropping the handkerchief.



and unnatural part, and several other members of council came on board, and produced an order for her arrest.\(^1\) "It is his majesty's pleasure," said Norfolk, "that you should go to the Tower." At the announcement she blanched and was unnerved for a moment; but regaining her self-possession, she replied, "If it is his majesty's pleasure, I am ready to obey." On arriving about five o'clock in the



Acces Beleyn a Prisoner at the Gate of the Tower.

the moon at the gate of the Tower—that Tower which had once been by palice—falling down upon her knees, she uttered with great main the prayer, "O Lord, help me, as I am guiltless of this viered I am accused." With a shudder of horror, she asked Sir Whan Kingston, lieutenant of the Tower, "Mr. Kingston, do I go take a dangeon !" Kingston, who was a man of a stern unfeeling threater, but who affected great courtesy towards prisoners of dis-

Ameling to others they produced their order to her before she left Greenwich.

was called the Marten Tower.3 recollections. The thought that within the of England had been placed upon her bro prisoned, the contrast of the imposing spl day, when she felt as if the happiest of hu sent wretched condition, almost overwhelm "It is too good for me-Jesus have mercy of down, weeping bitterly, and in the midst of fit of laughing, as she frequently did after anguish, and not the effect merely of str Anguish venting itself in laughter is indeed It is anguish, in the delirium of agony or de opposites, when its natural forms of expressic felt to be inadequate. She desired Kingston "that she might have the sacrament in the that she might pray for mercy; for," she add

and to revive his dejected spin

¹ Cardinal Wolsey well knew the character of this coljailer. Upon Wolsey's fall, when the Earl of Northumbi received orders to arrest him for high treason, and to dergo his trial, Cavendish, the cardinal's gentleman-ushe Mr. Kingston and twenty-four of the guards had beer majesty, "Mr. Kingston!" replied the cardinal, repeatin then clasping his hand on his thigh, he gave a deep sigh. him with all the marks of respect which had been paid to

pany of men, as for sin, as I am clear from you, and am the rue wedded wife." She expressed much anxiety about her and also evinced the tenderest solicitude about her motherwith whom she was on terms of endeared affection, exclaiming, mother, thou wilt die for sorrow."



Part of the Marcan Tower as new existing.

fallest accounts of the last days of her life, from her imprisonthe Tower to her death, is contained in a series of letters by Sir William Kingston to Cromwell.² From these letters

own mother died in 1512.

betters of Kingston, which are preserved in MS., Cotton, Otho, c. x., fol. 225, toward, were in part mutilated by the ravages of the fire of 1731. They are a Ellis's Original Letters, first series, vol. ii., pp. 52-65; and in vol. ii. dah's Life of Walsey, edited by Singer, who has filled up the blanks from the had seen the letters before their being damaged by fire.

wild frenzy of grief; and that, with the vown lips a confession of criminality, the cross-questioned her, but that she persever her innocence. Kingston and his wife a chamber door. Two other ladies, who, it friendly to her, one of whom Miss Strick Wyatt, sister of her early and devoted fi were permitted to attend her, though und they were not allowed to have any communing the presence of Kingston and his wife adjoining apartment. During her imprithought that Henry was only trying her; at that her doom was sealed. But she graduate submission, whatever might happen.

Cranmer had not been made privy to going on against the queen; yet as his o afterwards needed in some of the measur summoned by Cromwell, in obedience to the country, where he was then residing, to before the May-day scene, namely, on the residing at Knole, in Kent, as appears from which he then wrote to Cromwell, and he when he received Cromwell's letters required.

was doer from meeting with a man whose office it was to condemn injustice and cruelty. But still the king, not being ignorant of Conmer's pliancy of disposition, had no fears that the prelate would traverse his designs, and believed that it would be easy to convert him into an instrument for carrying into execution that part of the plot requiring his assistance. Cranmer arrived at Lambeth on the May, the day on which Anne was sent to the Tower. He was in great perplexity. Two different kinds of feelings were stuggling in his breast, a desire to vindicate the queen, whom gratitude as well as justice bound him to protect if innocent, and a deire to please the monarch, to whom he was too often criminally obsequious. These two sorts of feelings will explain the peculiar daracter of his letter to the king, written on the following day, a letter which has been very oppositely described by different hisbring. Influenced by the one class of feelings, he pleads in behalf d Anne, of whose character he affirms he had always entertained a very high opinion; impelled by the other class, he seems willing to patify the monarch's thirst for vengeance. Speaking of the reports a to the queen's grace, he thus writes :- "I am in such a perplexity that my mind is clean amazed: for I never had better opinion of woman than I had of her, which maketh me think that she should ast be culpable." And again, "I think that your highness would not have gone so far except she had been surely culpable. Now I think that your grace best knoweth that, next unto your grace, I was most and unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beech your grace to suffer me in that which both God's law, mature, and also her kindness bindeth me unto; that is, that I may, with your grace's favour, wish and pray for her, that she may derlare herself inculpable and innocent. And if she be found cultable, considering your grace's goodness towards her, and from what milition your grace, of your only mere goodness, took her, and set I grown upon her head, I repute him not your grace's faithful ervant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not dethe offence without mercy to be punished to the example of

never creature in our time that so much a God hath sent her this punishment, for the fessed his gospel in her mouth, and not in From Lambeth, the 3d day of May."

This letter, so far from being serviceabl injurious to the cause of Anne. Cranmer, opinion he had always formed of her chars tory terms of the encouragement she had g but the verbosity and emphasis with wh severe punishment deserved by her if guilty one in whose judgment Henry placed as m arch so ungovernable and self-willed could justify to his own mind his murderous purp minence to that side of the question on which most dwelt, and in his present state of mi the reins than restrain him in the cour driving. Why did not Cranmer introduc force on another supposition—the fearful g incur should he condemn the queen if she he well knew, would have been ungrateful t life of an unprotected lady was at stake, an have been plainly told at all hazards. Fa bridled the monarch's fury, and claimed as

by others, contrary to his own better judgment and feelings elect regretted by his warmest friends, and sneeringly blazoned enemies of the Reformation, who can never forgive his zealrvices in its behalf.

er having finished this letter, he was sent for to the star by some of the king's ministers. On his arrival they ated to him the tale of her alleged guilt, and succeeded in g him to believe in her criminality. This we learn from the ript added to the letter: "After I had written this letter," e, "unto your grace, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord of Oxford, and of Sussex, and [Sands] my Lord Chamberlain of your s house, sent for me to come unto the star chamber, and there wl unto me such things as your grace's pleasure was they d make me privy to, for the which I am most bounden unto grace. And what communications we had together, I doubt at they will make the true report thereof unto your grace. I recedingly sorry that such faults can be proved against the as I heard of their relation, but I am, and ever shall be your in subject." This portscript, even more than the letter, tended ofirm Henry in his fatal purpose. Cranmer, we see, now ted the queen to be guilty, and gives up her defence, upon the e authority of the story told him by these lords. Thus to min her without proof, was equally uncharitable and unjust, he expressed his resolute determination not to condemn her er guilt was established-had he made the most earnest inmions in her behalf—there is no reason to think that he could preserved her from destruction; but this course, injurious th it might have been to his temporal interests, justice deled, and it would have yielded true satisfaction to his own for no one will ever repent of leaning to the side of charity d mercy.

the 6th of May Anne wrote her celebrated letter to the king letter universally admired for its beautiful composition, its ting eloquence, and indicating a highly cultivated mind. She a lawful and open trial, and the exclusion from acting as her accusers and judges. I generous solicitude about the preservation of duals criminated on her account. But in Henry's justice and mercy; and his heart obdurate to her touching eloquence, she of quarter for her life. His will was suprement now to make up her mind patiently to subment he should doom her to undergo.

Forgetting, or not knowing, from her is human character, how her fallen fortunes we tenances and the hearts of her friends, she is she conceived to be the best portion of their alas! to disappointment. "I would I had is Kingston, "for they would all go to the king Shaxton, then professedly a zealous disciple a wolf in sheep's clothing, made no effort excite our surprise. He had pressed forwar had courted her favour, fawned upon and the expected some brilliant advantage as thomage; but when calamity had now ow applauding he condemned her, instead of is knee he contemptuously shook the head.

hath exceedingly deceived me—that vice that she was found and have mercy on her soul." But even the best of her bishops, king of the imperfection and infirmity of human nature, and it incurring the monarch's displeasure, left her solitary and steeted. They shrunk from claiming for her case, what gratiand justice equally bound them to do, an impartial investigative avoidance of precipitation, as injurious to dispassionate my and an upright decision; and that mercy which, even date be found guilty, it would have been creditable for all med in the prosecution to have extended to her. Finding at a that she was thus unbefriended and forsaken by all, the has trite, because founded on daily experience, expressed in habber, would affectingly and strongly suggest themselves to sind:—

"When smiling fortune spreads her golden ray, All crowd around to flatter and obey; But when she thunders from an angry sky, Our friends, our flatterers, and lovers fly."

the 10th of May, seven of those judges who had been on the al commission for making inquiry into the conduct of the a having met with the grand jury of Westminster, consisting wen squires and nine gentlemen, the criminating matter collagainst her was considered, and by the verdict of the jury, a upon their oaths, a bill of indictment for high treason' was I mainst her; Sir Henry Norris, groom of the stole to the Sir Francis Weston and William Brereton, gentlemen of the

Two logal explanations of this proceeding have been attempted. The first is at at the statute of treasons, 25 Ed. III., which made it high treason to violate was, a word which had been understood as applicable to any illicit connection. As accessory to the treason of her paramours, she became, by operation of reacond in the crime. The other represents the indictment as under the late, which made it treason to alander the succession of her issue' by the profestives to others, with which she was charged. It is hard to say which of these treasons was the most forced and fantastic. But it seems evident, from the use treason is noticed in the indictment, that the prosecutors, in spite of the common ag of this word, which implies force, chose to rely on the statute of Edward III."

I was Markintosh's History of England, vol. ii., p. 195.

H

presumption of their being base and clums presents her as being in every instance the charges go back nearly three years, there is several days, sometimes of several weeks, bet and the commission of the crime, a circumstat osity of passion, and giving the document very of having been manufactured for the occasion lieve," says Sir James Mackintosh, "that Ann lead a life so unnaturally dissolute, without s easily and very generally known in a watchf It is still more improbable that she should the seducer; and that in all cases the enticer tically occur in one day, while the offence several days after."1 Turner, the apologist means a partizan of Anne, after giving an a ment from one of the Birch manuscripts,2 obse stances do not resemble those of a true case, conduct of a shameless woman. I have more nality since I met with this specifying record tl regular distinctions between the days of allure offence are very like the made up facts of a fal "The first alleged offence," says Miss Strickle

and is dated October 6, 1533, within a month s

As to the imputation involving her brother, the only circumtame adduced in proof was that he was once seen leaning on her a circumstance to which only such as were malignantly set a framing a criminal charge from nothing would have attached the mallest importance. How malicious the enemies by whom she was arrounded, and with what minute unceasing attention must her and not have been watched and pried into, when a harmless incident he this was converted into a monstrous crime! The more unnaand consequently the more improbable the crime, every prinsple of reason and of justice demanded that the proof of guilt sould be so much the stronger. And if, upon the slender cirtance mentioned, her enemies - in their eagerness to ruin ber bonour, and blast her name, and bring her to the scaffoldpromoted her guilty of the atrocious, the unnatural crime of we may be sure that they would have little scruple in probearing her guilty of all the other accusations, however lame the tridence.

In their ardour to find criminating matter against her, her comes had recourse to the artifice of insinuating or directly saying to each of the prisoners, which was a base falsehood, that his follows had confessed, in order to induce him to make confession. This artifice was practised even upon Anne, who was told by her take, or by his orders, that Norris had confessed the truth of all the charges, which was false. Verily, men who could make use of the imprincipled arts, would stick at no falsehood, however flagrant, it as sort or size of calumny, by which they might compass the intraction of their victim.

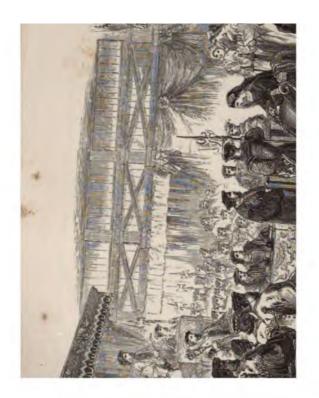
Smeaton was the only one of the prisoners who confessed anyting to her disadvantage. But how his confession was obtained, her it extended, or what were the conditions of it, we are ignonat. Whatever was its amount, it is said to have been obtained

Bener's Reformation, vol. i., p. 197.

^{*} Summ's Reformation in England, vol. ii, p. 135.—Sir James Mackintosh's History of England, vol. ii., p. 196.

of a truth."1 It has also been said that h fess by a promise of life. "He was provok ton, "by the Lord Admiral Fitzwilliams Southampton, who said unto him, Subser confession, criminating himself, the queen, will come of it."2 A confession obtained like the present, is entitled to little cred thought of statesmen who, in their eagernes pose of their master, were so base as to make they had no intention of keeping it? The oth Norris, Weston, and Brereton, persisted to t own criminality, and in asserting their cor innocence. Norris in particular, though off if he would make confession against her, s humanity and generosity revolted at the idea such terms, and he declared that in his consc be blameless, and that he would die a thous betray the innocent. On hearing this strong Henry cried out, "Hang him up, then! Har words of a man who, maddened into demo woman whom he now mortally hated, could to the very hilt in her heart with his own har determined to get quit of her, at what





her, but only Mark [Smeaton]. Wherefore, in my foolish it abould much touch the king's honour if it should no farpear; and, as has been truly said, it never did.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM HER TRIAL TO HER EXECUTION.

15th of May, the queen and her brother were brought to ore their peers. Her maternal uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, constituted Lord High Steward, presided, supported on hand by Lord Chancellor Audley, and on the left by the Suffolk, while the Earl of Surrey sat as Earl Marshal in fore his father, the Duke of Norfolk. Only twenty-seven all were present, though the number of the peerage at that mounted to fifty-three; the rest not choosing to attend, or being entertained of their subserviency to the wishes of the they had not been summoned, or means had been adopted ent their attendance. It is an important fact that these ere men notorious for their servility to the monarch, and to him for honourable titles and lucrative appointments, to and be added, that with one or two exceptions, they were to the Reformation, and therefore far from being actuated adly feelings towards the queen, its friend and supporter. court constituted of such men, it could hardly be expected her she or her brother would obtain an impartial trial. court was held in a temporary wooden hall, erected for the within the Tower; and the trial was private, only Sir Warren as Lord Mayor, with divers aldermen and citizens, ermitted to be present.1 This privacy, it was pretended, pro-

1 Lord Herbert's Henry VIII., p. 195.

good opinion of the people, had evinced ducedings a sensitive dread. That this excluding the public from witnessing her witnessing her execution, is evident from so of Sir William Kingston, lieutenant of the beafterwards quoted. "It could not be." a "to conceal the heinousness of the accusation the pretence; for that was published in after." This privacy was a strong temp whatever unfair dealing might be practised public eye; and it seems to betray a convict would not stand the open light.

Lord Rochford was first brought to the indictment being read, he pleaded not guilt Parker, his principal accuser, appeared a him. He made an eloquent and powerful were at first divided. But he was finally demned to be beheaded.

The trial of her brother having been conclute to the bar by a gentleman-usher. She app the faithless and cold-hearted women who win her prison. On entering the court she

were their depositions, cannot now be known, the whole of evidence produced having perished, nothing remaining but the etment, precepts, and conviction. "For the evidence," says att, "as I never could hear of any, so small I believe it was. It is the triers themselves doubted their proofs would prove their roofs, when they durst not bring them to the proof of the light pen place." Whether or not use was made of Smeaton's commat the queen's trial is unknown. His evidence was perhaps the did not court; but he was never confronted with her, her miss being apparently afraid lest, when brought to face her, would shrink from the criminating testimony extorted by promaind threatenings—another circumstance creating a strong picion that these men were far from being satisfied themselves a ber guilt.

to counsel being allowed to appear in her behalf, to question and appear in the witnesses, and to present her cause in the most burnble light, she was left to defend herself as she best could. In all cases would be a hard alternative, but especially in the of woman. Had Anne, when placed in such unusual and against croumstances, made no defence, it would not have been the defend. But she was not altogether silent; and her defence, up brief, left on the minds of at least some of the spectators, conviction that she was innocent, and that the accusations that her were the offspring of malice and revenge. "The eviture was heard, indeed," says Wyatt, "but close enough, as enclosed

The mounds of her trial," says Lingard, the Popish historian, "have perished, as by the hands of those who respected her memory." "Whether destroyed," EEs, "by Henry VIII, or Elizabeth, is not known." It is, however, unnatural pyrae that Elizabeth, or any who respected Anne's memory, would have region the evidence, and preserved the indictment which loads her with such an original. It is more reasonable to ascribe the destruction of the records of the Henry, who, convinced of the lameness of the evidence, took this precaution would posterity from testing its imadequacy. This is a strong presumption in at of the associates of Anne. Henry's motives in allowing the indictment to an order as to brand her name with dishonour, and to vindicate himself in the of paternty.

sh the not yet forcear to say things everywhere muttered abroad, that that spot had cleared herself with a most wise and no Mayor, and others who were present, aftery friends, "that they saw no evidence again that it was resolved to get quit of her."2 But a majority, if not all of the peers beneath the remorseless power of Henry, Whether any of them resisted this finding opposition would have been fruitless, for un to give effect to the decision of the peer regard to the verdict of a jury, a majority either for condemnation or acquittal. Th that she should be beheaded or burned, acc pleasure, was pronounced by her unnatur Norfolk, and she heard it with unaltered cor the fatal words, lifting up her hands and she exclaimed, "O Father and Creator! O the truth, and the life! thou knowest tha this death."3 "It is difficult," says Turner, Boleyn's character such a mockery of what to reconcile this ejaculation with her consciosolemn ejaculation, which was like laying he

notence imported to h

signent of you all. I believe you have reasons and occasions of existion and jealousy, upon which you have condemned me; but they must be other than have been produced in this court: for I mentirely innocent of all these accusations; so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have always been a faithful and loyal to the king. I have not, perhaps, at all times shown him that builty and reverence which his goodness to me, and the high bestowed by him upon me, did deserve. I confess that I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength me discretion enough to manage; but God knows, and is my vitnes, that I never trespassed otherwise against him: and at the ment of my death I shall confess nothing else. Think not that lay this to prolong my life: God has taught me how to die, and his grace he will fortify my spirit. Yet do not think that I am a state of mind, as not to lay the honour of my chastity to best. Of this I should make small account now, in my extremity, I had not maintained it, my whole life long, as much as ever ques did. I know that these, my last words, will signify nothing, but to justify my honour and my chastity. As for my brother, and these others who are unjustly condemned, I would willingly suffer may deaths to deliver them; but since I see it so pleases the king, I met bear with their death; and shall depart with them out of the world, under an assurance of leading with them an endless life in peace." !

The tone of candour, subdued feeling, natural eloquence, and good see pervading this address, could hardly fail, in the circumstances, to make a deep impression on all present.

This as well as her ejeculation on bearing the sentence pronounced, is from Meteren, to butch consul-present's Histoire des Pays Bas, who has given in prose her address and ejeculation from a poetical narrative by Crispin, Lord of Milherve, a Frenchman, the was in Lembon at the time, and an eye-witness of what he describes. The poet, which sake of the metre, may have somewhat amplified what she really said. The moved Histoire of Anne Boleyn, par un Contemporain, published a considerable mater of years ago, from a manuscript in the Bibliothéque du Roi, is supposed to be Capacia work. It is dated Loudon, 2d June, only fourteen days after Anne's

to Antwerp, and there spending the remains ful obscurity. "This day [16th May], at discussion to Cromwell, "the queen said to werp, and is in hope of life." But she was even in exile and seclusion, forgotten by the

On the 17th of May, Lord Rochford Smeaton were executed. The first three we ration of their rank, and the last was hanged of Sir Francis Weston had earnestly implored Weston, and offered a ransom of a hundred the relentless heart of the monarch was not tempting bribe. Lord Rochford on the scateging fortitude. Then turning to the spectations of the spectation of the spectation of the spectation of the spectation.

In the verses prefixed by Richard

¹ Lord Rochford was a man of great personal beauty, degree, a talent for poetical composition; qualities whi ladies in Henry's court. He is supposed to have been published along with those of his friends, the Earl of S in Tottel's Miscellany of Songs and Sonnettes, 1568. expressly named as his, printed in Ellis's Specimens and Poetry. It has been much admired for its beauty, and the state of the state o

[&]quot;My lute, awake, perform the last Labour that thou and I shall was

then: "I am come here to die, since the king has so ordered it. I desire you that no man will be discouraged from the gospel on second of my fall. For if I had lived according to the gospel as I bred it, and spake of it, I had never come to this. Wherefore, Sirs, for God's love, leave not the gospel, but speak less and live better. For I had rather have one good liver according to the gospel, than ten babblers. I would exhort all who hear me, not to trust to surfs, states, and kings, but to rely on Heaven alone. For my sins I have deserved heavy punishment, but I have deserved none from the king, whom I have never injured. Nevertheless, I earnestly gray God to grant him a long and happy life." 1 Norris, Weston, and Brereton, like Rochford, persisted on the scaffold in asserting thir innocence. Smeaton, who was the last executed, and who, it has been supposed, harboured hopes of life to the last, is commonly miratood to have confessed. His words, as reported by an eyewitness, were, "Masters, I pray you all pray for me, for I have derved the death." This language is ambiguous, but the impreswas conveyed to those who heard it was that it implied a confrom of guilt. His dying words being reported to the queen on the following day, she exclaimed with warmth, " Has he not, then, dered me from the public shame which he has done me? Alas! I far his soul will suffer from his false accusation. My brother and the rest are now, I doubt not, before the face of the greater King, ud I shall follow to-morrow,"3

To inflict additional degradation upon Anne, she was brought to lambeth on the morning of the 17th of May—the day on which her

> God gave me grace, dame nature did hir part, Endewed me with gyfts of natural qualities: Dame eloquence also taughte me the arte In meter and verse to make pleasannt dities, And fortune preferred me to high dignyties, In such abondance that combred was my witt, To reader God thanks that gave me eche whitt."

While Anne was in favour, Rochford stood high in Henry's good graces, and notwith-

Contacting's Memorial to Secretary Cromwell, in Archaelogia, vol. xxiii., p. 65.

Constantine,

3 Meteren, p. 21.

after her death, it appears that Cranmer pr never to have been good, but "utterly vo certain just and lawful impediments unknow pretended marriage, but confessed by the sa the most reverend father in God sitting jud "just and lawful impediments" were is n statute, an omission affording a strong prevalidity. The most probable supposition is pretended discovery of a matrimonial contra the Earl of Northumberland, formerly Lor her marriage with Henry.2 That Anne a contemplated marriage as the consummation can be little doubt; but no legal contract h courtship had been broken up by the influe and of Cardinal Wolsey, at the desire of the l the king, be it observed, so that if the mutual in and vows between her and Percy constituted impediments" to her marriage with Henry, th risen up against her, but an old story revived, to the king at the time when he married he thumberland, being examined upon oath before of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York, precontract had ever existed, and in farthe

Cromwell, dated 13th May, he made a similar denial.1 Anne also examined, a confession of the truth of the "just and al impediments" was extorted from her, if we are to believe the is of the statute above quoted. As there had been mutual saions of love between her and Lord Percy, and as she was mant of nice legal distinctions, it is not difficult to see how such dmission might be obtained from her, an admission also proy drawn from her in the hope of life. Did it never occur to men, that if her marriage with the king was null from the ming, she could not, though the charges against her had been ed have been guilty of adultery, which can only be committed there is legal marriage, and that if not guilty of that crime, entence pronounced upon her only two days before for treason construction put upon the infidelity of the sovereign's wife a illegal ? It is also remarkable, as Collier has observed, the record of the decree pronouncing the nullity of her marwith Henry is not entered in Cranmer's register, though that inne of Cleves is inserted at length. What was the reason of difference 1 Did Cranmer, in not giving that of Anne Boleyn ace ad perpetuam rei memoriam, act of his own accord, or had he aved orders to that effect from the king? Either supposition are a consciousness that the alleged impediments were a mere ert, and that, reflecting discredit on all concerned, it would be ter to consign the whole proceedings to oblivion.

Men may justly marvel," says Fuller, " what King Henry meant this solemn and ceremonious divorce, which the edge of the axe word was more effectually to perform the day after, her death is then designed. Was it because he stood on this punctilio of that he might not hereafter be charged with cruelty for ming his wife, that first he would be divorced from her, and could not be said to put his queen, but Anne Boleyn, to death?

Or was it because he conceived the execution would only

as well as the mother.2

On the evening of the 17th, it was intimat been determined to carry the sentence of dea a means of preparation for death, she had pre to religious exercises; and now she engaged earnestness. From some statements in Si letters to Cromwell, it appears that she still transubstantiation. In one of these letters, the 17th of May, he says: "Sir,-The queen have here in the closet the sacraments,2 and a she supposeth to be Devet;" and in another the 18th, he says: "This morning she sent for with her at such time as she received the go I should hear her protestations touching he however, to be observed, that at this infant sta in England, there remained in the minds of been opened to see the truth partially, and w the diffusion of the pure doctrines of God's and superstition, and they only gradually dis idolatry, and blasphemy of transubstantiatio still believed in by Cranmer, one of Anne's cl gion. It was not till a later period that he that Christ's presence in the sacrament is ex-

Since her imprisonment, Anne had often remembered with bitter remove the wrongs she had done to the Princess Mary, daughter of Heary by his first queen; and now, in the near prospect of judgment and eternity, she could find no peace in her soul till she had made the only reparation now in her power to make-a free and humble She had not herself an opportunity of meeting with the pincess, but on the 18th of May, the day before she suffered, taking Laly Kingston into the presence-chamber-for, as has been stated before, she was allowed to occupy the royal apartments in the Tower - and desiring her to sit down in the canopied chair of state, she and her knees before Lady Kingston, and holding up her hands, with tearful eyes, charged her, as in the presence of God and his and as she would answer to her before them when all should upper to judgment, that she would in like manner fall down before Lady Mary's grace, and ask forgiveness for the wrongs she had her; " for," added she, "till that is done, my conscience cannot le quist." This does not look like a remorseless hardened woman, by under some potent spell which prevented her from confessing her erimon.

Heary having decided to put her to death by the less painful beheading, it was determined to consummate the deed, but with an axe, the usual method in England, but with a sword, 2

terretural and distinguished as a scholar and mathematician, who had published a vot entitled Aphorisms upon the Eucharist, intended to disprove the corporeal present and sent the present of a copy to Cranmer, the archbishop says, "The seper you treat of in those six books, which you sent me as a present, is altogether being to me; and I could wish you had bestowed your labours to better purpose, an agreeable friendship with myself under better, or at least more surplices. For unless I see stronger evidence brought forward than I have the sale to one, I desire neither to be the patron nor the approver of the opinion "Zurich Letters, first series, p. 13. Cranmer held the doctrine I translatantiation up to the year 1546, when, by conference with Dr. Ridley, aftervets Bushep of Rochester, and his fellow-martyr, he renounced it, and embraced the Zunglius as to the nature of Christ's presence in the supper.- Ibid., P. Tl. TL-Strype's Crusmer, pp. 94, 97.

An air shown in the Tower is represented as the instrument of her decapitation,

ing him to remove all strangers from Kingston's reply we learn that the private not proceed from the humane desire to from a public spectacle, but from a dread of sympathy. "Sir," said he, "this shall be have received your letter, wherein ye woul out of the Tower, and so they be—but passed not thirty, and not many others emperor had a servant there, and hone have not an hour certain, as it might be kene will be but few, and I think a reaso for I suppose she will declare herself to be the king at the hour of death." 1

On the morning of the 19th of May, the sent for Kingston, to whom, after sole cence, she said, "Mr. Kingston, I hear the noon, and I am very sorry for it, for I the and past my pain." "It will be no partially to her, in his usual ner, that species of comfort so characteri "I have heard say," she answered, "that expert, and I have a little neck," upon about it, laughing. She had become record.

as be hoped upon good grounds—rest from all sorrow, and perfect implies in a better world. Her jailer Kingston bears testimony at only to her calm and collected, but even to her joyful state of aind, in the prospect of what was awaiting her. "I have seen may men," says he, "and women also, executed, and they have han in great sorrow, but to my knowledge this lady hath much ity and pleasure in death. Her almoner is continually with her, and has been since two of the clock after midnight."

Immediately before being brought out for execution, she sent a until message to the king, by a gentleman of his privy chamber, seemly protesting her innocence, a message remarkable for its finifed and yet mild tone:—"Commend me to his majesty," said is, "and tell him he hath been ever constant in his career of attaining me; from a private gentlewoman he made me a mardiness, from a marchioness a queen, and now that he hath left no ticker degree of honour, he gives my innocency the crown of martines." "But the messenger," says Lord Bacon, who relates the motion, "durst not carry this to the king, then absorbed in a passion, yet tradition has truly transmitted it to posterity."

On the 19th of May, a little before noon, she was brought to the small. The chief of the select company admitted as spectators was the Duke of Suffolk, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Chancellor Ardley, Secretary Cromwell, the Lord Mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of Lordon; the most of whom, not long ago, cringed for her favour, and were clated with her smile, but who now left her, when abantand by the tyrant, unpitied, to her fate. On the scaffold her fortitude did not formake her. With the utmost composure she addressed a few words to the spectators:—" Christian people! I am come hither to die according to law: by law I am judged to death, and thrufter I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to see no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused

His grandfather, Sir Anthony Cooke, was tutor to Edward VI.,
I would be the mother, Lady Bacon, and his aunt, Lady Cecil, had from their
The distribution of the court, and were maids of honour to Queen Mary.

to judge the best. And thus I take my you, and I heartily desire you all to pre mercy on me! To God I commend my so

Surprise has often been expressed that I have eulogized a monarch as lenient and me bloody and malignant temper she was now proceeded from a wish not to provoke his Elizabeth, maternal feeling having triumph test against her own wrongs; and Cranmer, with her on the preceding day, may have this guarded manner. It may, however, it dying words, as reported, may not have pass Henry, who, to save his own reputation, relanguage which she never uttered.

Having concluded her address, she prep trophe, removing with her own hands her I were her composure and fortitude, that sh have her eyes bandaged, saying that she has kneeling down, she continued for some time words, which she repeated several times before "To Christ I commend my soul. Jesus, moment the blow fell, amidst the shuddering the spectators, who felt as if the

nd a terror to behold. Her body was then barbarously y the executioner into a box of elm-txee, used for holding ad was interred without ceremony, in the chapel of the fore twelve o'clock. Tradition, however, reports that during after her execution her remains were secretly removed by and conveyed for interment to Salle church, the burialor family. A plain black marble slab is still pointed out surch, as marking the spot where her ashes repose.\ This receives confirmation from Wyatt's indefinite but grateful o her final resting-place. "God," says he, "provided for e mered burial, even in a place, as it were, consecrate to

did not witness with his own eyes the perpetration of this glood. He was to spend that day in the chase, and surby his dogs and attendants, had breakfasted under an oak Forest, still standing, and known by the name of Henry's by the tragedy about to be enacted he was greatly excited; ad arranged that, the moment the queen fell under the he executioner, the news should be heralded to him by the of artillery. As the appointed hour drew near, he was listening to hear the signal. At length the report of suming through the wood announced, to the delight of his t he had now got rid of the hated queen, and could wed bject of his affections. In the delirium of depraved pasexulting with ferocious infernal glee, he started up, and "Ah! ah! it is done! the business is done! uncouple the let us follow the sport !"2

ve read few trials, bringing out at every stage of the proso many grounds of suspicion of evil intention and premedirder, as the trial of this unfortunate queen. The secrecy of till it was ripe for execution; the corrupt and venal charthe junto appointed to collect the criminating matter, of and judges who found a bill of indictment for high treason

rickland's Queens of England.

2 Tyndal's Rapin -Tytler.

meompetency of the evidence, the haste of prejudicial to calm and impartial investigat rence upon which she was pronounced guilty cipled arts resorted to in order to extract accomplices confessions against her; the tes all, with only one exception, to her innocence on his testimony, and the fact that he was her; the judgment confidentially expressed by prosecutors, that the evidence was so glarin condemnation would damage the popularity other culprits should testify to her guilt; the she been so abandoned as the indictment repre evidence would not have been wanting, as ir what invariably happens when every modest from the breast, have thrown off circumspectito conviction, upon proofs of criminality so a as to leave no room for doubt, the more espe eyes were upon her in the court :- these, and stamp suspicion upon the whole proceedings, conviction, that though the forms of a trial we were a mere mockery of justice, a shocking ar and that her condemnation and execution were and calumny over the weak and defenceless.

The reflecting mind is appalled at the precip

cans employed to effect his purposes, and a disregard of all

One cannot always

Finish one's work by soft means.-

"Dash and through with it.' That's the better watchword.

Then after come what may come. 'Tis man's nature

To make the best of a bad thing once past." 1

at such was the temper of Henry is attested by Cavendish, who as us that Wolsey said of him: "Rather than miss or want art of his will or appetite, he would put the loss of one-half of inglom in danger, and that he had often kneeled before him the of an hour or two to persuade him from his will and appetite, wild never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom." To a man in reckless and violent character, the sacrifice of the life of a materials whom he had conceived an aversion, or whom he said of conjugal infidelity, was nothing; especially when she will the way of the consummation of his union with a new object of the life.

In the day of Anne's execution he arrayed himself in white, as if the mast to express his joy or his innocence of the brutal murder, intringe the next day to Jane Seymour, eldest daughter of Sir Seymour, of Wolf Hall, Wilts, goes far to explain the mystery has proceedings, by showing that he had determined the destructed Anne, to make way for another to occupy her place. What many surprising is the eagerness of Jane Seymour to ascend prime eminence of becoming the wife of a monarch whose hands by recking with the blood of his former queen. Young and member and perhaps believing in the guilt of Anne Boleyn, and thought how brittle and transitory that happiness was in expended on the changeful temper of a ruthless tyrant like the might be loving to-day, and animated by the fury of a man to morrow. From a hardened conscience, or from the boil-field of passion, the monster himself, in the meantime, appa-

tance in the luture, the dreadful tribunal will bring every work into judgment, and respect of persons, he is said to have confe the bitter anguish he felt on account of th had treated this unfortunate queen. "Many an old Roman Catholic writer, "have assur on his death-bed, greatly repented of the of and, among other things, of the injury and Anne de Boleyn, in her condemnation and the false charges brought against her."1 This horrible tragedy was bewailed by the the good in England, who traced it to a sec combination with the furious passions of the awed by his terrible decision, even the lead had pusillanimously deserted the hapless qu Reformation in other countries were shock her unmerited fate. Viewing all the circ Germany confederated for the defence of t sidered her guilt so improbable, that they thoughts of an alliance with him.3 Mela: plated visiting England, now abandoned th generous pity, pronounced her innocent.

Camerarius, written in June, 1536, he thus released from concern about my Fredish the last sentence of the law. How wonderful are the f things, my Joachim; how great the wrath of God they ce against mankind; into how great calamities, also, do the set of earthly potentates at this day fall. When I think upon things, the conclusion to which I am brought is, that our sees and our dangers should be borne with a more patient. The tidings created a great sensation in France, and must struck with horror Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre, sold patroness and friend, who could hardly fail of being sed with a feeling of gratitude to Providence that, when the was made to her, she refused to supplant Katharine of Aragon, coming the queen of a sovereign who, under similar charges, these brought her to the same terrible end.

matism's Epist., quoted in Ellis's Original Letters, first series, vol. ii., p. 65,



ANNE ASK

DAUGHTER OF SIR WILLIAM ASKEW,

N this lady, whose story whave a noble example of far She fell a martyr for denying substantiation, during the result her name must ever stand the list of the venerated martyrs of the Engalm unshrinking fortitude in maintaining to in opposition to the Popish doctrines, and it rather than abjure them, places her on a latrious martyrs of any age or country.

ANNE ASKEW was the second daughter knight, of Kelsey, in Lincolneit.

story respects her marriage with the son and heir of Mr. Kyme, no had extensive property in Lincolnshire. Her father lived n terms of familiar intercourse with Mr. Kyme, who resided in he same county, and was his near neighbour; and, allured by the respect of a wealthy connection, he had engaged to give his eldest larghter in marriage to the son and heir of his friend, without, howour, asking or obtaining the consent of the young lady herself; such were the worldly views which regulated the formation of marriages England among persons of rank at that period, as in later times. The lady having died before the marriage was completed, Sir William, willing to lose so rich an alliance, entered into new engagements, give his second daughter, Anne, to be the wife of his friend's son leir. This engagement was not less objectionable than the Imer. The young man was but of indifferent character, and the posed union was the reverse of agreeable to Anne, whose affections was either fixed elsewhere, or did not rest upon him. His prospectre wealth made no impression on her mind, and she earnestly But her father, dazzled and blinded by the prospect of walth deemed the match to be most eligible, and would listen to no biotions, nor break his engagements, not reflecting that he was perilling the happiness of his daughter, by forcing her into a relation important, contrary to her inclinations. She yielded to his commands, and is said to have conducted herself like a Christian wife, the bore to her husband two children. But marriages originated and formed in such circumstances are seldom happy, and the present some formed no exception to the general rule. The tender emofeeble before the marriage, had not been subsequently improved; of domestic disquiet arose between Anne and Mr. Kyme, and bitter preponderated over the sweet in their conjugal cup.

The conversion of Anne to the reformed faith, like that of many when at the period of which we now write, was principally owing to the reading of the Scriptures, which, after being locked up for the half recently been unsealed by being translated, printed, and coulated in the English tongue,

was resident in that city, had secretly ing of Tyndale's version of the New Tes the Old Testament as Tyndale had tra supplied from Coverdale's translation of This edition of the entire Scriptures w The whole was completed before the 4th day we find Archbishop Cranmer, to wl Grafton, sending Grafton with his Bible that statesman to show it to the king, a royal "license that the same may be sol without danger of any act, proclamatic granted to the contrary."2 The license people of England might now read in t Word of God, which they could not do l as the five books of Moses, some of Pa having been previously printed. Nun Bible were afterwards printed during the the sanction of that monarch, obtained of Archbishop Cranmer and Cromwell, whatever steps Henry made in the refor period.3

Anne Askew had procured a copy of with the freshness and intensity of inte

er mind. A permanent change was wrought upon her understandand her heart. Finding the doctrines of Popery at complete priance with the doctrines of the Bible, she renounced the former, ad embraced the latter, as professed by the Lollards or followers of Wiskliffe, to which she continued to adhere, till her life was closed by martyrdom. The defection of a lady of her position in society greatly anged the priests; and her husband, partly prompted by his own Poolsh intolerance, on which no restraint was imposed by warmth of effection for his wife, and partly instigated by the priests, who, with depicable meanness, have very frequently shown a peculiar propenity to meddle with domestic affairs, and to create quarrels between Protestant ladies and their Popish husbands, and vice versa, treated her with great cruelty on account of the change in her religion ; and as acting on the principle that God alone was the Lord of her constience, she would not renounce her convictions of truth and duty at bidding, he even proceeded so far as to expel her from his house. In consequence of this violence, she is said to have actually applied ler a legal divorce, and to have vindicated the proceeding from 1 Cor. 15: "If a faithful woman have an unbelieving husband, which will not tarry with her, she may leave him, for a brother or sister is but in subjection to such." This contemplated step was the cause, it wold appear, of her going to London. During her abode in the apital she obtained introduction to those illustrious personages in the curt who either professed, or were friendly to the reformed watiments, among whom were Queen Katharine Parr, the Duchess of Saffolk, and other ladies of distinction. She is even said to have been one of Queen Katharine Parr's maids of honour. To these laties, some of whom had experienced domestic trouble from a simiby source, she made known her cause. Whether she persevered in sixing a divorce is uncertain. The probability is, that being soon awayed in cruel persecution on account of her religion, she abansmel all thoughts of prosecuting a cause which, there could be little dobt would have gone against her, as her heresy would, by Popish larges, have been deemed, in those times of judicial corruption, a sufficient justification of whatever harshness or even had suffered from her husband. She, however, neve returning to him again, and resumed her maiden name.

Before proceeding to narrate the sufferings and marty lady for her adoption of the reformed doctrines, it will for the clearer understanding of the narrative, briefly to the notice of the reader the leading particulars as to t tute she was accused of violating, and for the violation was condemned and put to death. This was an act o respecting what is commonly called the Six Articles. in his zeal to maintain the Catholic faith, and pron bishops, especially by Bishop Gardiner, desired the Parli met in 1539 to appoint a committee to draw up a seriexpressing the faith of the English Church. The res six articles were embodied in a bill, which, having houses of Parliament, in opposition to the influence an of Archbishop Cranmer, who strongly opposed it,2 and royal assent, thus became the law of England. The act "An act for abolishing diversity of opinion in certain a Christian religion." The Six Articles, which Fuller, quaint manner, has styled "Gardiner's Creed,"4 from share which that prelate had in this business, were a "1. That in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (it being spoken b is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the and that after the consecration there remaineth no bread or wine, or any other substance but the substan God and man. 2. That the communion in both kinds is

¹ This Parliament assembled April 28, and ended June 28.

² Cromwell, though opposed in sentiment and heart to the bill, gr porizing assent.

³ Fuller's Church History of Britain, vol. ii., p. 98. Strype's Me part i., p. 542.
⁴ Worthies of England, vol. ii., p. 331.

marry by the law of God, to all persons. 3. That priests may be marry by the law of God. 4. That vows of chastity or widowand to God advisedly by man or woman, ought to be observed to law of God. 5. That it is meet and necessary that private the law of God. 5. That it is meet and necessary that private the law of God. 5. That it is meet and necessary that private the law of God. 5. That it is meet and necessary that private and christian people receive godly consolation and benefit; and the law are also agreeable to God's law. 6. That auricular confession appellent, and necessary to be retained and continued, used, and requested, in the church of God.

The act or law as to these six articles was sanctioned by bloody makies. For enforcing the first article it was enacted, that whowithin the realm of England, or any other part of the king's imisons, after the 12th of July ensuing, "by word, writing, printor otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, affirm, argue, or hold my opinion " contrary to that article; or whoever aided and abetted as did so, should, on conviction, be adjudged heretics, and should and death by burning, without benefit of abjuring-"an unheard of writy," says Hume, "and unknown to the Inquisition itself"-witht benefit of clergy or sanctuary, and should, as in the case of high brann, forfeit to the crown all his honours and possessions whatso-As to the other five articles it was enacted, that speaking, willing printing, or otherwise publishing sentiments contrary to then; that the marriage of priests; that the incontinence of unmarred priests; that abstaining from confession, and from receiving the clarist at the accustomed times; that every such offence committal after the aforesaid day should, for the first time, be punished by friture of goods and possessions of whatever kind, and by imprisenset during the king's pleasure. The punishment for the second was forfeiture of life and goods, as in the case of felony, withthe benefit of clergy or sanctuary. The marriages of priests conbacted previous to this Parliament were declared void; and the same

[&]quot;Attackly " means made above the age of twenty-one, in the case of all except

¹ by this benefit of private masses is meant the helping of souls in purgatory.

Parliament, to make inquiries as to the vi commissioners, of whom three were to for archbishop or bishop, or his chancellor, always to be one, were to sit four times at full power to take informations, accusation nesses—not less than two witnesses being of twelve men upon their oaths, and to prove the justices of peace in their sessions, and steward, or his deputy, in their law-days, same powers.

The act of the six articles afterwards un tions. As it was first enacted, an offender could not save his life by recantation. But in 1543, it was decreed, that for the first admitted to recant in such form as his ordin case of his refusal, or if after recantation he for the second offence to be admitted to all Should he refuse life on a condition so hu after abjuration, offend the third time, the be inflicted without mercy. In a subsequing 1544, other qualifications or alterations on were made on the act. As it originally stoolodged against any of his majesty's subjection.

person should be brought to trial before the authorized commissions, upon an accusation of violating the act, till after he had been leadly presented with an indictment, on the oath of twelve men of appraision, purged of corruption and malice. It was also enacted, that such accusations or indictments were not admissible, unless within a year from the time when the offence was committed; that accused should not be arrested or committed to ward before he was indicted, except by special warrant from the king; and that a pracher could not be accused of words publicly spoken against the truticles, unless within forty days after they were spoken. The access had also the right to challenge any juryman.

Such was the state of the law as to the six articles at the time when Anne Askew fell under its dreadful operation. From the blody cruelty with which it was enforced, it received the sobriquet d"the whip with the six strings." Yet in the face of its terrible realties, the reformed doctrines gained ground in different parts of the country, and even at court.

In consequence of this severe law against heresy, and the cruel tests inflicted on heretics, Anne exercised considerable reserve in testing to others her reformed sentiments. But it was difficult to her to refrain at all times from expressing sentiments, of the truth and importance of which she was deeply convinced; and this, combined with her earnest devotion, created suspicions of her heretical ranky. During her abode in the capital, a worthless Papist, named wallow, a cursitor of the chancery, rented lodgings about the Temple, and to the house where she had taken up her temporary residence, with the view of finding grounds upon which to accuse her of heresy, long probably bribed for the purpose. But he was constrained to the same to Sir Lionel Throgmorton that she was the most devout want he had ever known; "for," said he, "at midnight she begins to pay, and ceases not for many hours, when I and others are addressing ourselves to sleep or to work." She had more malignant.

Evan's Acts and Monuments, vol. v., pp. 262-265, 502-505, 526-528.
* Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. i., part i., pp. 597, 598.

and persevering enemies than Wadloe. Her own husband and the Romish priests had combined for her destruction. Surrounded by



Anne at her midnight devotions.

spies, who watched her every word and action, it was hardly possible for her to escape being ensnared. They succeeded in getting hold of certain heretical opinions to which she had given utterance. For example, she had said on one occasion that she would rather read five lines of the Bible, than hear five masses in the chapel. She had also expressed her disbelief as to the efficacy of the sacrament of the eucharist being dependent on the character or intention of the priest; and observed, that whatever was the character or intention of the priest who administered to her the eucharist, he could not prevent her from receiving spiritually the body and blood of Christ. These expressions were reported to the legal authorities, and she had not been long in London when she was arrested on the charge of heresy, and examined concerning her faith. In all the examinations she underwent the question most strongly pressed was, what her sentiments were as to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The anxiety evinced, and the arts resorted to, both on this occa-

ad at her subsequent examinations, to draw from her an ion of her sentiments, prove that she had not been given to tion, but held her sentiments quietly, her great delight, indeed, been in secret devotion, and in reading the Scriptures.

e's first examination took place in March, 1545, before a inquest, probably a standing one, specially intended for a taxonial standing one, specially intended for a taxonial standing one. His questions related chiefly to transubstantial sacrifice of the mass, the dependence of the efficacy of the ent of the Lord's supper on the good intention of the priest, pricular confession. To some of the questions she refused to not choosing to criminate herself; others she answered with freedom, point, and scriptural accuracy. The questions, with swers, taken from her own account, with which we interacted the explanatory observations, are as follows—

stopher Dare.—"Do you believe that the sacrament upon the sthe very body and blood of Christ?"

"Had she answered the question in the negative, agreeably sentiments, this would have been to confess herself guilty of

so while in prison wrote a full account of her examinations, at the earnest request a Christian ladies and gentlemen. It is an artless and an affecting tale, and he writer to have been a woman of no common talents. Bishop Bale published sunt, accompanied with numerous remarks of his own, written in his peculiar style, and other particulars he had collected respecting her birth, marriage, ps, and martyrdom. The work was printed at Marburg, in Hesse, January 16, Is has recently been printed by the Parker Society. Each examination has a s title-page, but the same wood-cut in the centre, namely, the representation of I bolding the Bible, and trampling on a dragon wearing a triple crown. At so pieces, edited and published by Bale, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who hard in the death of Anne, and whom Bale satirizes as "the Pope's great bear," was mightily enraged, calling them pernicious, seditious, and slanderous. secresion of Edward VI., he wrote from Winchester a long letter of complaint subject to Protector Somerset. His great exceptions were that Bale made her sartyr, " whereas she was a sucramentary, and so by the law worthy of the death fered; that he had falsely set forth her examination, misrepresenting it; and emily his late master, King Henry, was slandered, religion assaulted, and the truthind."-Strype's Mess. Eccl., vol. ii., part i., p. 56.

A. A.—"Neither will I tell you whet the sacrament upon the altar to be t Christ."

C. D.—"A woman has testified that; in the Scriptures that God was not in Her inquisitors understood her to emplment against transubstantiation.

A. A.—"As to this I would refer you Acts of the Apostles, verses 48-50, when the most High dwelleth not in temples the prophet, Heaven is my throne, and e house will ye build me? saith the Lord; rest?' and to the 17th chapter of the saithat made the world and all things therein heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples C. D.—"Why did you say that you wo in the Bible than heave five masses in the

C. D.—"Why did you say that you we in the Bible than hear five masses in the A. A.—"I confess that I said no less, befies me, the other nothing at all." And wi the idolatry of the mass, she quoted, in performing the service connected with it is of Paul, in 1 Cor. xiv. 8, "If the trumpet who shall prepare himself to the battle

C. D.—"You also said, did you not, that if a wicked priest minisad, it was the devil and not God?"

A.A.—I deny that I ever said any such thing. What I said a that whoever ministered unto me, his bad character could not are my faith, but that I, notwithstanding, received in spirit the dy and blood of Christ.

C. D .- "If a mouse eat the host, does it receive God or no?"

To this question she made no answer, as it deserved none, but Hel. And yet the question has been gravely discussed among arned Popish doctors; and the Pope, it would appear, having given infallible deliverance on the subject, they have been divided in er opinions about it, some asserting that the sacrament eaten of a use is the very and real body of Christ;1 others, as Gardiner, shop of Winchester, maintaining, "that a mouse cannot devour d, though "Christ's body may as well dwell in a mouse as in The sacraments are not eaten of mice," says another, hough they seem so to be in the exterior similitudes; for the virof holy men are not eaten of beasts when they are eaten of "That which is material," says a fourth, "in the bread, is by digestion; but that which is spiritual remaineth uncor-Such is a specimen of the gabble of Popish casuistry in alog with questions as contemptible as the quidlibets and quodof the schoolmen, not to speak of their impiety and blasphemy. C.D .- What are your sentiments concerning confession?"

A.A. "I believe, as the apostle James teacheth, that Christians to confess their faults one to another, and pray one for another."

C.D .- What is your opinion as to the king's book?'

A.A.—I can pronounce no judgment upon it, as I never saw it."
The book here referred to was the Erudition of a Christian Man.
In 1837 a book, entitled The Institution of a Christian Man, was comled by a commission, consisting of several bishops and other divines,

¹ Three Notable and Godly Sermons, by W. Peryn, friar.

¹ See the Bishop's Detection of the Devil's Sophistry, pp. 16, 21.

² Bishim Bale's Select Works, p. 154.

make it almost a new work, was publish king, under the superintendence of Archb learned bishops and divines. This book, to in the question, was entitled the Erudi and among other things it included the se commandments, the Lord's Prayer, called th tation of the Angel, called the Ave Maria, freewill, justification, good works, and pra It made considerably nearer advances to t than the former work. In the former the ing to saints, masses for the dead, and var approved and confirmed. In the latter these more doubtfully and cautiously, or rejected on purgatory occupied a prominent place in t it is entirely omitted.2 C. D .- " Have you the Spirit of God?" T A. A .- "If I have not, I am but a reproba C. D .- "I have brought a Popish priest to at hand." The priest then proceeded to exam among other things, what she said as to the and strongly urged her to give her opinion of ing him to be a Papist, and suspecting him

involving her in the confession of sentimen

examination being closed, she was sent from Sadler's Hall to ard Mayor, Sir Martin Bowes, who, after having, with the of London's chancellor, Thomas Bage or Williams, examined the same topics, and received similar answers, illegally ordered be committed to prison.1 Some of her friends, deeply intein her safety, were ready to become her sureties, provided she be admitted to bail; but the Lord Mayor, in answer to her ies, harshly told her that such a favour would not be granted. as therefore conducted to the Compter, where she remained days, so secluded that no friend was admitted to speak with A priest, however, was sent by Bonner to examine her again the sacrament of the altar" and other Popish doctrines. He d a humane sympathy for her sufferings, but distrusting his sions of kindness, she answered his questions with prudent . "If the host," said he, "should fall, and a beast should eat the beast receive God or no?" "Seeing you have taken the e to ask this question," she replied, "I desire you also to take suble to answer it yourself: for I will not, because I perceive re come to tempt me."

the 23d of March her cousin Brittayne, who felt for her deep thy, paid her a visit in the Compter. After an interview, he diately repaired to the Lord Mayor, with the view, if possible, ting her admitted to bail. But his lordship, with professions diness to do his utmost to befriend her, declared that the sancta spiritual officer, which had been necessary in order to her liberation on bail, lexited him to call upon the Bishop of London's chancellor, either would the chancellor, when waited on, interfere without meant of the bishop. He, however, promised to speak to Bona the subject, and desired her cousin to call back on the morrow, the bishop's pleasure might be known. Brittayne returned on sorrow to the chancellor, and met at the same time with Bonner,²

posed that her imprisonment was illegal, see act of Parliament referred to, p. 144.

to advantage her, but to afford an app gentlemen and throwing them into priso his own party. He also besought Britt disclose her sentiments, protesting in the her freedom of speech should not be turne all he should do, did she say anything a right by godly counsel and instruction. On the 25th of March she was brought

nation. So intent was the blood-thirsty a confession of heresy from her own mou condemned without the aid of witnesses, t cousin Brittayne, who, with several other sent, to urge her unreservedly to declare expressions of warm concern for her welfa hurt should be done to her for a single himself endeavoured to persuade her to apprehension. "If a man," said he, "ha was the natural son of John Savage, a richly-benefice son of Sir John Savage, knight of the garter, and priv Savage, the name he inherited from his father, was n never have received another. He was educated at who appointed him Archdeacon of Leicester, he was the Continent. During this time he had not develop he was advanced to be Bishop of London by Cromwe as he pretended to be, a friend to the Reformation

anner, I can give you no counsel unless I know wherewith science is burdened." "My conscience," she replied, "is all things, and it would appear very foolish to apply a a whole skin." She placed no reliance on his professions ill, and as little on his promise and oath; for what dependI be placed on the promise and oath of a man who held, as a do, that no faith is to be kept with heretics.

amination was substantially the same with that which she t before Christopher Dare and the Lord Mayor. Bonner, her principal examinator, grossly misrepresented her o Dare and the Lord Mayor, and made every endeavour, y questioning and cross-questioning her, to extract from nouth a confession of her faith; but her guarded answers it impossible to found a charge of heresy upon them. "I the Scripture teacheth," was the only reply she would he fatal question, whether the consecrated host is, or is not, ody of Christ. To Dr. Standish and other priests, who asmer in attempting to entangle her, she uniformly answered, have said to my Lord Bishop of London, I have said." having desired Bonner to bid her explain the sense in understood the language of Stephen and Paul, as to God's ng in temples made with hands, she told them that it was L Paul's learning, that she, being a woman, should interscriptures, especially where so many wise and learned men

rould her persecutors have been had they been able to er name with some odious imputation, in addition to the heresy; but so unblemished had been her reputation, that I accuse her life of nothing inconsistent with the Christian

"There are many," said Bonner, not daring to make a arge against the sanctity of her life, but malignantly to convey insinuations against it, "that read and know ture, and yet do not follow it, nor live according to it."

Failing to extract from her answers at whose ensnaring arts were not yet exhau writing the substance of her answers, as might subscribe as the confession of her drew up, which was false in every particular known to all faithful people, that as touching of the altar, I do firmly and undoubtedle words of consecration be spoken by the common usage of this Church of England the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Cter that doth consecrate be a good man of also, whensoever the said sacrament is receiver be a good man or a bad man, he decomposally.



a bad man, he do corporally. A lieve, that who be then receiv reserved to be be brought to tent or sick, the blood of our whether the respondence or bag on the corporation of the corpo

things else touching the Christian belief, which are taught and the line in the king's majesty's book, lately set forth for the erudifithe Christian people, I, Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne to do truly and perfectly believe, and so do here presently contain acknowledge. And here I do promise, that henceforth I never say or do anything against the premises, or against any m. In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my unto these presents."

wing read to her this fabrication, in which she is made to wledge, in the most explicit terms, doctrines which in her exacions she had steadily refused to admit, he asked her whether or did not contain the confession of her faith. "I believe," she wed, "as much thereof as is agreeable to the Holy Scripture, desire that you will add to it this sentence." The bishop ed, and cried out in a furious rage that he was not to be dic-



Answeamined before Borner.

to by her as to what he should write; and required her to her name to the document. She at first objected, but impor-

⁴ Fore's Acts and Monuments, vol. v., pp. 537-553.

heretics then living in the different count she hereby ignored the Popish Church as Christ, he became yet more infuriated, and chamber. "For God's sake, treat her kindl tayne, alarmed at the bishop's wrath. " Bonner, his choler towering still higher, "an in her." "Take her as a woman, then," said ing to allay his fury, "and do not set her we lordship's great wisdom." Bonner's rese seemed uncontrollable, was at last so far ove suaded to come out of the chamber, and to names of her sureties, who were Brittayn Gray's Inn. This being done, it was expecte forms of law, she should be immediately adn ner, reluctant to let go his grasp of the victin to prison until the next day, when he again pear in Guildhall, which she did, and was ag prison. At last, by the exertions of her frie was in some measure laid, and a bail-bond bei she was set at liberty.

Anne felt deeply grateful to her cousin I man, who had brought her out of prison. E to bring her to the stake, did not give her

rought before the lords of privy council at Greenwich. He missed; but "for that she was very obstinate and heady in ag of matters in religion, seeing no persuasion of good reason the place, she was sent to Newgate, to remain there to answer aw."

was again examined on Friday, the 25th, and her examination hout five hours. Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor of Engaving asked her what was her opinion as to the bread in the st, she answered, "I believe that as oft as I, in a Christian sation, receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, the thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive ith the fruits also of his most glorious passion." Gardiner defer to give a direct answer, charged her with speaking in a and, forgetting the dignity becoming a member of the privy, accornfully called her a parrot. "I am ready," she calmly to his insolent sneers, "to suffer all things at your hands; your rebukes, but all that shall follow besides, yea, and that "Others of the council reprimanded her for not being free encous.

he following day she was examined on the same vexed ques-

. MS., 236, fol. 224, b., quoted in Auderson's Annals of the English Bible,

mas Wriothesley " was a warm adherent of the old faith; and, with the Duke as and Gardiner, he formed the party actually opposed to the Reformation, cured the passing of 'the six articles."- Lord Campbell's Chancellors of and i. p. 628. On the 1st of January, 1543, he was created by Henry VIII. Trickborne, and on April 30th, next year, Chancellor of England. He was of amioubted ability; but that he was, at the same time, narrow-minded, and ersel, is abundantly proved from his treatment of Anne Askew. On the a of Edward VI he was removed from his place as Lord Chancellor, though, as appropriation, he was raised to be Earl of Southampton. He was also excluded s privy council, but was afterwards restored to it. He died at his house in on the 30th of July, 1550 .- Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. ii., p. 70. It s of motice that the famous Rachel, wife of the illustrious patriot, William, swill who suffered on the scaffold in the reign of Charles II., was the greatand-laughter of Wriothesley, and her father dying without male issue, she was herress. -See Introduction to Lady Russell's Letters. Her son, who succeeded offsther in 1700, became Duke of Bedford; and thus, the old Chancellor esley is at present represented by that honourable family.

for you," said she to Lord Parr and Lord she had reason to believe, very much coin counsel contrary to your knowledge." The renewed the examination, her answers as not satisfying Gardiner, that bloody prelate burned." "I have searched all the Scriptures unterrified by his sanguinary threat, "yet either Christ or his apostles put any creatur again commanded to stand aside; and to Mr had a greater share in her confidence than the her mind more freely. "How can you avo words of Christ, 'Take, eat, this is my body whi "Christ's meaning," she replied, "in that pas meaning of these other places of Scripture, 'I vine, 'Behold the Lamb of God,' 'That rock like. You are not in these texts to take C thing which he is signified by, for then you wil a vine, a lamb, a stone, quite contrary to the All these indeed do signify Christ, even as body in that place. And though he said th remembrance of me,' yet did he not not bid th in a box and make it a god, or bow to it."

Not only did Anne conder

ptures unitedly testify—the obvious conclusion is, that those are the host adore bread alone, and are therefore idolaters. tmatches, in folly and grossness, even much of the heathen

"Among the old idolaters," says Bale, "some took the sun, smoon, some the fire, some the water, with such other like, gods. Now come our doting Papists here, wading yet n idolatry, and they must have bread for their god, yea, a ke, which is scarce worthy to be called bread. In what sorage are Christian people now-a-days, that they may worship rd and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, in no shape that his heavenly sath set him forth in, but in such a shape only as the wafer-th imagined by his slender wit! God's creatures are they se idolatrous took for their gods, but the cake is only the creature, for he alone made it bread, if it be bread."

ablath, the day after her examination, Anne being seized ere sickness, and thinking herself dying, earnestly requested . Latimer i might be permitted to visit her. She felt desirpening up the state of her mind to this excellent man, and of g from him instruction and comfort. But her request was

r her present and prospective sufferings, this confessor betook to Him who has ever proved the unfailing refuge of His a the time of trial; and, sustained by the power of His grace

was the famous Reformer and martyr, Hugh Latimer, formerly Bishop of the act of the six articles placed him at the mercy of his persecutors. I passing of that act, he resigned his bishopric, and returned to a private laying aside his robes of office, which was on the lat of July, 1539, he exultanced, "I am now rid of a great burden, and never felt my shoulders so see." Gardiner having sent for him, and expressed surprise that he would it to the authority of the traditions then enjoined by the Council, Latimer "I will take the Word of God alone as my rule, and rather than depart one till will submit to be torn in pieces by wild horses." The sequel proved that an empty boast—Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. i., part 1, pp. 542-546. Soon was imprisoned in the Tower, where he was lying at the time when Anne present a strong desire to see him, and where he continued to lie till the 'Edward VI., when he was released, after an imprisonment of more than As is well known, he suffered at the same stake with Ridley, at Oxford, he of October, 1555.

gate. In this poem, which has been justly beauty and sublimity of sentiment, and for its pared with the poetry of even more than a ce her resolution, by Divine grace, to stand by the inthe face of death; celebrates the power of united opposition of earth and hell; rejoices he was on her side, and would finally deliver seeches God, on whom she cast all her care, to grace, and to fight her battles, that her soul is rous enemies uninjured; denounces the type cruelty which had usurped the throne of justification; and closes with an earnest pray ness to her persecutors.

Like as the armed knight, Appointed to the field, With this world will I fight, And Christ¹ shall be my ship

Faith is that weapon strong,
Which will not fail at need:
My foes, therefore, among
Therewith will I proceed.

As it is had in strength And force of Christ's new I now rejoice in heart,
And hope bids me do so;
For Christ will take my part,
And ease me of my woe.

Thou say'st, Lord, whose knock To them wilt thou attend: Undo, therefore, the lock, And thy strong power send.

More enemies now I have
Than hairs upon my head:
Let them not me deprave,
But fight thou in my stead.

On thee my care I cast,

For all their cruel spite:
I set not by their haste,
For thou art my delight.

I am not she that list
My anchor to let fall,
For every drizzling mist,
My ship substantial.

Not oft use I to write, In prose, nor yet in rhyme; Yet will I show one sight That I saw in my time.

I saw a royal throne, Where Justice should have sit, But in her stead was one Of moody, cruel wit.

Absorbed was righteonsness, As of the raging flood; Satan, in his excess, Sucked up the guiltless blood.

Then thought I, Jesus, Lord,
When thou shalt judge us all,
Hard is it to record
On these men what will fall.

Yet, Lord, I thee desire, For that they do to me, Let them not taste the hire Of their iniquity.¹

¹ Poze's Acts and Monuments, vol. v., Appendix, No. xix.

e enoughe to needless any tonger to co therefore wrote to the Privy Council the c the eucharist, in these terms :- "That the us to be received with thanksgiving in death, the only remedy of our souls' reco also receive the whole benefits and fruits of On Monday, June 28, she was brought l hall. They told her that she was a heret law, unless she fell from her opinion. Sh of being a heretic: "Neither do I deserv the law of God. But as concerning the f wrote to the council, I will not deny it, true." They next desired to know whether of the eucharist to be Christ's body and b tatingly answered, "for the same Son of Virgin Mary is now glorious in heaven, a thence at the last day in like manner as what you call your god, it is but a piece of proof of this (mark it when you please), three months and it will be mouldy, and so good. I am therefore persuaded that i you deny the bread in the pix to be G God is a spirit," and not a wafer-cake, an

chinned in enjuit and

assages of Scripture, concluding with these words, "I ish death nor yet fear his might. God have the praise ith thanks." They requested her to take the benefit of a which she smiled, observing that she would confess her lod, from whom alone forgiveness could be obtained.

probably at this time that Sir Martin Bowes, the Lord ignorant, blustering Popish devotee,2 who, it appears, was th the council, asked leave to examine the prisoner. Leave ated, he tried his skill in the interrogatory art, in which, as adroitness, he made a somewhat ludicrous figure. Lord Thou foolish woman, sayest thou that the priest cannot body of Christ?" Anne Askew.-" I say so, my lord, for I that God made man, but that man can make God I never or I suppose ever shall." L. M .- "Thou foolish woman, words of consecration, is it not the Lord's body?" A. A. but consecrated or sacramental bread." L. M .- "What if at it after the consecration? What shall become of the What sayest thou, foolish woman?" A. A .- "What shall it, say you, my lord?" L. M .- "I say that that mouse is A. A.—"Alack, poor mouse!" "By this time," says my lords heard enough of my Lord Mayor's divinity, and that some could not keep from laughing, proceeded to the they intended before they came thither." 3

wii. 48-50; xvii. 24; and Matt. xxiv. 23, 24. She also quoted a passage at from the History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon, in the Now the Babylonians had an idol called Bel, and there was spent any day twelve great measures of fine flour, and forty sheep, and six vessels at the king worshipped it, and went daily to adore it; but Daniel worson God. Then said the king unto him, Thinkest thou not that Bel is a sees thou not how much he eateth and drinketh every day? Then a and said, O king, he not deceived: for this is but clay within, and brass and prever eat or drink any thing."

artin left a sum for an anniversary sermon to be preached in St. Mary, shere the venerable John Newton so long proclaimed such doctrine as the never heard. Bowes lies there interred, under a close marble tomb,"—

Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii., p. 191.

Seel, sol i, part i, pp. 597, 598.

ment of my Lord Chancellor [Wriothesley burned, and so were committed to Newga and Gardiner were the leading agents in th

From the relentless severity with which this period enforced, there was little hope th condemning sentence had been pronounced Gardiner, whose chosen function was the the most desperate means, and who never his bloody purposes to their appalling iss power; and what could she expect from hir did she attempt to take advantage, that of a tribunal that condemned her to the mercy resource, indeed, offered but a very slender had never been particularly susceptible to t during his latter years his heart had becom the many cruelties he had committed. He a wife to the scaffold with as little comput shown in ordering a dog to be drowned," v smallest concern about the life of any other still believing, as he had been taught from the greatest of all crimes, and still proud of as "defender of the faith," he held it to be the Deity, as well as necessary to establish

appeal, and wrote out a brief confession of her faith, to be re the monarch, in which, while asserting the injustice of emnation, she speaks, perhaps intentionally, of the eucharist are so general and indefinite, that it would be impossible for arch to gather from it whether she believed in transubstanr no. "I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although God on me the bread of adversity and the water of trouble, yet uch as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known to -That forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an , here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in sence: And according to what I have said first, and will say tterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning er of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe uch as he willed me to follow and believe, and so much as olic Church of Him doth teach : for I will not forsake the iment of his holy lips. But look! what God hath charged his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus end, for lack of learning. "ANNE ASKEW." confession of her faith she sent to Wriothesley, the Lord

confession of her faith she sent to Wriothesley, the Lord or, accompanied by the following letter, in which she requests ammunicate it to the king:—

Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, bless in the light of his knowledge. Amen.

inty to your lordship remembered, &c. May it please you this my bold suit, as the suit of one who, upon due consides moved to the same, and hopeth to obtain. My request to diship is only that it may please your lordship to be a means a the king's majesty, that his grace may be certified of these, which I have written concerning my belief; which, when be truly compared with the hard judgment given [against] the same, I think his grace shall well perceive me to be in an uneven pair of balances. But I remit my matter and Almighty God, who rightly judgeth all secrets. And thus

en doomed. "U friend," said she, i sufferer, John Lascels, who had been her loved in God, I marvel not a little what sho in me so slender a faith as to fear death, misery. In the Lord I desire of you not wickedness; for I doubt it not, but God will me, like as he hath begun." Her appeal p fear of death, but from the principle on wh acted, that she was not only entitled, but bot every legitimate and honourable means of def life, of pleading for them on the grounds of u of English law, and of submitting to death only serve her life in no other way than by denying This is the rule laid down in the New Testame Christians, on their falling into the hands of by this rule were the apostles governed on Had Anne, like the Christians of the third of false heroism, delivered herself up to her pers carelessness about life, and an impatience to e tyrdom, instead of making a calm and spirit caution under her examinations, that she mig self.1 and appealing to the monarch after 1 would have been guilty of violating apostolic

Anne's appeal to her sovereign, as might have been expected, was a vain. Endeavours were, however, made to bring her to recant, and by yielding, she probably might still have saved her life. On a 13th of July, she was brought from Newgate to the Sign of the rown, where Mr. Rich, Mr. Nicholas Shaxton, who had recently mounced the reformed faith, and the Bishop of London, did their most by promises, as threatenings had been found ineffectual, to examine her to abjure her faith. The gentler arts had as little success as the sterner appliances. She was neither to be smiled nor award into a denial of the truth. Shaxton in particular, whom a regarded as a traitor to her Lord and Saviour, might as well are spared his pains. She told him that it had been good for him and be never been born. She was next sent to the Tower, where making till three o'clock in the afternoon, she then underwent a examination.

One great object of this examination was to extract from her incoveries as to others, her instructors, or participators in heresy, and especially as to several ladies and gentlemen of the court, who were suspected of holding the reformed opinions. The ladies of the belonging to the court, whom the persecutors were extremely arious to involve in a charge of heresy, were the Duchess of Schik, the Countess of Sussex, the Countess of Hertford, Lady Denry, and Lady Fitzwilliams. From the kindness of some of

Bilinton, as we have seen before, was raised to the see of Salisbury by Queen Beleva. On the passing of the act of the six articles, rather than renounce seements, he resigned his bishopric, and languished seven years in prison. At the was indicted for denying transubstantiation, and sentenced to the flames. It propers of the fiery trial overcame his courage, and Bishops Bonner and Heart wasted him by the orders of the king, he professed to be convinced by their wasted him by the orders of the king, he professed to be convinced by their wasted him by the orders of the king, he professed to be convinced by their wasted him by the orders of the king, he professed to be convinced by their wasted him by the orders of the king, he professed to be convinced by their wasted and substituted and substituted as suffered by the party to which he went have been merely constituted a suffragan in the diocese of Ely, in which situated in 1256.—Burnet's Hist. Records, vol. i., pp. 386, 526.—Strype's Mem. Language in the diocese of the part i., pp. 542-546. Many of Shaxton's letters are contained in Missesser Correspondence, second series, vol. xxxvii.

"Skrype's Mess. Eccl., vol. i., part i., p. 597.

religious sentiments. From the examinating her imprisonment, she had chiefly, if for her subsistence upon the private bou duals. "Tell us," said her examinators, "h in the Compter, and who willed you to "There was no creature," she replied, "that And as for the help which I had in the Commy maid; for as she went abroad in the str



Anne's Maid soliciting aid from the Apprex

the prentices, and they by her did send me mo I never knew." "Were there not several ladies

object by putting her to the torture, a horrible custom then ion in judicial proceedings, and not altogether abolished in and for nearly a century later. "They did put me on the rack." the "because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my on, and thereon they kept me a long time." She was let down dangeon in the Tower, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieua ordered the jailer to apply the instrument of torture. This done, without any of the wished-for discoveries being extorted, entenant ordered her to be taken down. But Wriothesley, the ellor, incensed at her obstinacy in making no confessions, and ving that she lay quiet without uttering a cry or groan, insisted the torture should be renewed. Touched with compassion, the cant objected, excusing himself from the weak and delicate of the young lady. The proud chancellor, whose indignation d hotter at finding that he, the highest judge in the land, d be disobeyed, threatened him with the displeasure and vene of the sovereign. But the lieutenant was not to be brown and menaced into a mean-spirited compliance. Upon which chancellor and Richard Rich, afterwards lord chancellor, one onner's creatures, throwing off their gowns, plied the machine their own hands, first asking Anne whether she was with child. shall not need to spare for that," she answered, "do your wills me." With great barbarity they continued to stretch her on mek, till her bones were almost broken and her joints pulled



1 The torture of the rack, or stretching, was applied in various ways, but it is ordinarily understood as the fearful agonies produced by the extension of the criminal or sufferer on the machine shown in the engraving. This consisted of two rollers or windlasses, placed horizontally, seven or eight feet apart, to which the arms and feet were fastened by sharp cutting cords; the windlasses were then turned by levers until the body of the tortured was in a

of transco, sometimes so great as not only to dislocate the limbs, but also to tear mades, and the agony was further increased by the cords cutting through the of the wrists and ankles to the very bone. had received the warmest kindness and sympe object, Wriothesley and Rich desisted, afrai among their hands. Immediately upon their rack, she swooned from the dreadful agony. they succeeded in recovering her to conscious was kept sitting two long hours on the bare fl chancellor, who, notwithstanding his ruthless importuned her, with great professions of good faith. "But," says she, "my Lord God-I goodness-gave me grace to persevere, and very end. Then," she adds, "was I brought t a bed, with weary and painful bones as ever thank my Lord God therefor." By the tortu her limbs, and was left in a condition so dan not have lived long, though her enemies had but severe as were her bodily agonies, it was think that under the torture she had said noth of any Christian friend.

Wriothesley and Rich, immediately after less ceeded on horseback to the court by land, what tenant, taking boat, proceeded in haste by we possible, arrive before them, and obtain the reprejudiced against him by their misrepresent

ing her torture, which, from compassion, he could not find in his eart to do-and humbly craved forgiveness if he had thereby dended his majesty. The king, who seemed somewhat displeased on the extreme severity of the chancellor and Rich, approved of be lieutenant's conduct, and dismissed him with assurances of conmed favour. The officers of the Tower, who much respected the estenant, were anxiously waiting for his return, and were delighted hear of his gracious reception at court.1 It would have been acuring to the memory of Henry, and a redeeming act in his story, amidst the numerous atrocities by which it is blackened, ad be given orders that the proceedings against this lady should stopped. But an idea so merciful seems never to have entered his ind; and the displeasure he expressed at the severity of the chanthe and of Rich, proceeded, there is reason to believe, merely from apricious impulse, and not from sentiments of compassion, which, be ever felt, were, " like angels' visits, few and far between."

The lord chancellor afterwards sent a notification to Anne, assurance her that, provided she would renounce her opinion as to the scharist, she should want nothing; but that if she continued obsticts, she should be forthwith sent to Newgate, and should undergo a ignominious death to which she had been condemned. Hereby was brief but decisive—"that she would rather die than resence her faith." In giving this account to a friend, she concludes the these words, so expressive of her forgiving and pious spirit—Lord, open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may find attace. Farewell, my dear friend, and pray, pray, pray!"

The council, and especially Wriothesley and Rich, though hardened of the frequent repetition of cruel deeds, yet not altogether indifferent to public censure, were anxious to have the torture of Anne usualed, dreading that they might incur, barbarous as was the age, to offices imputation of torturing a lady. "I understand," says she, as letter to John Lacels, "the council is not a little displeased that a should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They

^{*} Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. v., pp. 537-553.

honest a part ye have played, that ye v
I promise you so to divulge this unseem
that all Christendom over it shall be kn
To damage Anne's reputation in the
to abate the sympathy which her conexcite, Bonner and his confederates, afte
and circulated the paper which he had
tion after her first imprisonment, as th
with her own name as subscribing to it
names of upwards of a dozen of ecclesia
to it as witnesses. This paper, which ob
registers, bore the following title: "The
and belief of Anne Askew, otherwise

and belief of Anne Askew, otherwise before the Bishop of London, on the 20th Lord God, after the computation of the and subscribed with her own hand, in bishop and other whose names hereafte published at this present, to the intent credence is now to be given unto the sar a time hath most damnably altered and belief; and therefore rightfully in open demned." The date of the paper is in have seen, subscribed it only with make

ation, it is unnecessary to dwell. It was worthy of such a Bonner, and of men who identified themselves with a system teaches that the end sanctifies the means, and that to forge ecusations to ruin the credit of heretics is a venial sin, or no sin at all. The evil was that many, and even some Chrisquaintances, on seeing the paper with the names of so many ses attesting its genuineness, believed that her liberation after t imprisonment had been purchased at the price of abjura-She had an approving conscience, the best of all comforters; I as malicious calumnies, especially when credited by esteemed cause deep concern to an ingenuous mind, she felt uneasy till I publicly explained that the circumstances connected with ease involved no desertion or compromise of principle. She ngly drew up a "purgation or answer against the false surs to her recantation." "I have read," says she, in this pur-"the process which is reported of them that know not the to be my recantation. But as sure as the Lord liveth, I never anything less than to recant. Notwithstanding this, I conat in my first troubles I was examined of the Bishop of about the sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my mouth s, that I believed therein as the Word of God did bind me to More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which in print, and required me to set thereunto my hand; but I It. Then my two sureties did will me in no wise to stick t, for it was no great matter, they said. Then, with much the last I wrote thus: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe this, if Word do agree to the same, and the true Catholic Church.' the bishop, being in great displeasure with me, because I made in my writing, commanded me to prison, where I was a but afterwards, by means of friends, I came out again. is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that vet most to know, resort to John vi., and be ruled always y. Thus fare ye well, quoth Anne Askew."

number of her enemies, and the many iniquitous forms in

-and extorted from her earnest ap compassion of God. But it is delightful to spirit she cherished towards these miserable when she most agonizingly felt the iron enter not make her appeal to God against their inj out, like Christ in his passion, and like the Stephen, earnestly praying for their forgi understandings might be enlightened by the and their hearts changed by Divine grace. brief prayer which she composed and commit prison, "I have more enemies now than there yet, Lord, let them never overcome me with thou, Lord, in my stead, for on thee cast I n spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who Yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them that thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I hear thou wilt, of thy most merciful goodness, forg which they do and have done unto me. Oper hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing only acceptable before thee, and to set thy ver vain fantasies of sinful men. So be it, O Lord

When in Newgate she drew up a confession with the intention of leaving it as a memorial to my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity and the vater of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, do configurable to the same of his heavenly Majesty, desiring his eternal mercy. And forasmuch as I am by the law arighteously condemned for an evil-doer concerning opinions, I take he same most merciful God of mine, who hath made both heaven ad earth, to record that I hold no opinions contrary to his Holy wird. And I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all men, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions, which we contrary to his most blessed verity. For I take him to witness lat I do, and will unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the determost of my power.

But this is the heresy which they report me to hold: that after he priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth read still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article faith, that after those words are once spoken, there remaineth no read, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on lood Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs by I may. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as bothing the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a both necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Reference, Jesus Christ, would I should believe.

Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true which he hath the maintest with his most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation that the left here with us; so that I believe we need no unwritten written to rule his church with. Therefore, look, what he hath said the me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that have I, with God's grace, closed up in my heart. And my full trust is, as David mith, that it shall be 'a lantern to my footsteps' (Psalm cxix. 105).

my God will not be eaten with teeth, nei
And upon these words that I have now spo
The day of her execution having arriv
Smithfield in a chair; for she had been rac
ture had deprived her limbs of the power to

ture had deprived her limbs of the power to were executed with her for the same opini priest of Shropshire, John Adams, a tailor, a man of the family of Gatford in Nottinghas household. The four martyrs were bound t Anne to one stake, to which she was faste round her middle; one of her fellow-suffere other two to a third. They mutually encou calm and willing self-immolation. Anne in rest, who, though not deficient in fortitude,

¹ According to Foxe, in his Acts and Monuments, she of June; according to Bishop Bale, in his work, De St. p. 670, on the 16th of July. Southey, in his Book of the "The execution was delayed till darkness closed, that it ful" This, there is reason to believe, is a mistake, Eland, so far as we have discovered, uniformly took place generally in the morning. Southey, even in his second an omission in the first—an entire want of references—this statement; but we apprehend it rests solely on an brief notice of the martyrdom by an eye-witness, for printed in Strype's Memorials, vol. i., part i., p. 599. Thour of darkness came and their execution "the allustics."





ing her invincible constancy, and hearing her Christian is. The place of execution was defended from the pressure d by a rail. In those days unceasing efforts were made to convert condemned heretics. After they had been stake, a Popish priest from a pulpit, which it was comerected beside them, endeavoured to convince them of aded errors, and bring them to recant. In the present usual practice was followed. But if the object of the was to convert the sufferers, they could hardly have made ection of a priest to officiate. Dr. Shaxton, whom they ed, being a renegade from the reformed faith, his characaccount was damaged in the estimation of all the martyrs, lly of Anne, in whose mind he was associated both in nd in doom with Judas the traitor. Shaxton mounted and began his homily; but he might as well have spent on the desert air. It made no impression on those for professedly intended. Anne, who remarkably preserved of attention and presence of mind at the stake, expressed ation when he spoke the truth; but her dissent on his anything contrary to the Scriptures, saving, "There he d speaketh without the book." On the conclusion of the martyrs began their devotional exercises.

the appalling scene, an immense multitude of spectators led. Here were to be seen, as at every public execution, he most barbarous and brutal of the London population, me out of their dens of filth, and vice, and infamy, from uring eagerness to gratify their curiosity, and gorge their pectacles of cruelty. Here, too, were the fanatical Papists, openy had extinguished the common feelings of humanity to fiends in vindictive triumph over the destruction of as, wild cries of jubilee. Wriothesley. Chancellor of Englid Duke of Norfolk, the old Earl of Bedford, the Lord

eson, and proving that Christ is received in the supper only spiritually, a Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. v., pp. 550-553.

quantity or gun tion, became alarmed lest the fagots, by th flying about their ears. His alarm was all: ford, who assured him that, as the gunp the persons of the sufferers, with the view of not under the fagots, there was no danger. remained on the bench, remorselessly look consumed the devoted martyrs. Other lord taining themselves by looking on, leaning neighbouring house. The gratification felt b lors in witnessing this horrible scene, is not alt for from the influence of the frequent atrociou at that period, in hardening the hearts of all cl to be attributed to the influence of Popery in demonizing, the human character. This is co that in every country, and especially in the countries, the execution of heretics was witner stration of satisfaction and delight, by Papists conditions, from the monarch to the peasant, delicate lady, that would not adventure to ground for delicateness and tenderness," dow sex; while yet the execution of ordinary n compassion of the very same spectators.

Others, however, we

his example, strength to follow it when their hour should come; to him it was a consolation to recognize sympathizing faces the crowd; to be assured that in his agony he had their silent levent prayers to support him; and to know that, as faithful sees, they would do justice to his memory, which else was at every of his enemies. For it was one of the pious frauds of the mists to spread reports that their victims had seen and acledged their error, when too late to save their lives, and had pardon of God and man for their heresies with their latest

new temptation to unfaithfulness to God and conscience, this and her fellow-sufferers had to encounter just on the eve of their tion; but in the strength of God's grace they nobly overcame d it added "a fresh garland to their crown of martyrdom." the fire was lighted, Wriothesley, the chancellor, sent letters to which was affixed the great seal, offering her the king's a, provided she would abjure her heretical opinions. This he conformity with an Act of Parliament, 1543, by which it was ned, that such as were convicted of the violation of the law as - six articles, for the first time, should be admitted to recant. a moment did she hesitate as to her duty; with letters offering person on such a condition, she would have nothing to do; she d not even look at them. "I am not come here," she said heroi-"to deny my Lord and Master." She indeed appears to have penced a large measure of the support and consolations of the Spirit; and her very countenance reflected the peace and joy woul. An eye-witness bears testimony, that on the day before execution, and on the day of it, "she had an angel's countenance, a uniling face." Similar letters were offered to her three fellowarea, who, imitating her constancy, nobly refused to recant. All were therefore dealt with as obstinate, irreclaimable heretics. led mayor, thinking that as they had the offer of their lives such easy terms, their blood was on their own heads, and not on

¹ The Book of the Church, vol. ii., p. 18.

phenomena by different spectators, according gious creeds. By the reformed party they of God's approbation of the martyrs, and of 1 the persecutors. "God knows," said a friend I may truly term it a thunder-crack, as the p or an angel's, or rather God's own voice. But his own judgment, methought it seemed rat heaven rejoiced to receive their souls into bl Popish tormentors cast into the fire, as not we among such hell-hounds." 2 "The sky," say wicked an act, suddenly altered colour, and gave a thunder-clap, not at all unlike to whi lxxvi. 8: 'Thou didst cause judgment to be l earth feared and was still.' The elements bo high displeasure of God for so tyrannous a m also expressly signified his mighty hand pre them which trusted in him." The Popish pri observing the sudden gloom, and hearing the that these were signs of the perdition of the s fanatical fury, gnashing their teeth, "They damned."3

The interpretation put upon these phenor has the merit of being humane and pious; t Puists has the discredit of being savage and vindictive. Yet aguile in determining God's love or hatred towards the sufferers, the not disposed to lay much stress on these phenomena, which to vague and indefinite to enable either the martyrs or others hem anything like a correct judgment on the point, and which at be easily explained from natural causes. As to the martyrs welves, they needed no outward signs to convince them that God withem. From the workings of love to him in their own hearts. from the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit to their adoption, what he loved them. This knowledge confirmed their and strengthened their courage when they were called to the mable though very trying distinction of sacrificing their lives the witness of Jesus, and for the Word of God; and because would not worship the beast, neither his image, neither would we his mark upon their foreheads, nor in their right hands." spired them with the triumphant hope—a hope of which the ed and cruel men who put them to this terrible death could deprive them-that the flames which consumed their bodies I be a chariot of fire, in which they would ascend to heaven, having suffered for Christ on earth, they might reign with him for ever.

Askew, at her martyrdom, was in the twenty-fifth year of committee, in the prime of youth, in the meridian and summer of her the most kindles into brightness to the eye of youthful hope. The sacrifice she made of her life the nobler, the more in far, as Foxe observes, "she might have lived in great wealth apperity, if she would have followed the world rather than the prime in the sacrifice and it fixes a blacker, a more indelible brand of infamy the cruelty of her murderers.

. Acts and Monuments, vol. ii., p. 489.



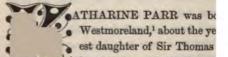
Ruins of Kendal Castle, Westmore

KATHARINE

SIXTH QUEEN OF HENRY

CHAPTER I.

FROM HER BIRTH TO THE RETURN OF HE ENGLAND, IN THE AUTUMN



r of the Wards and Comptroller of the Household to I. He enjoyed the favour of the monarch, by whom he led with a gold chain, valued at £140. He died in 1517, thurine, by his last will, a fortune of £400, a small inheritady who afterwards became Queen of England. He left rtune to her only sister, Anne, and bequeathed the gold d received as a token of the royal favour, to his only son, terwards Earl of Essex, and Marquis of Northampton. ost her father when only in her fifth year, Katharine ducation mainly to her mother, a woman, it has been ch wisdom and good management, who carefully cultidents of all her children. Not only was she educated in y branches of learning, in the art of music, in the use of then deemed a necessary accomplishment to ladies of the inction, and in the modern languages, but she was taught and Greek tongues, in which, since the revival of letters in had become fashionable for English ladies of rank to be From her good natural abilities, her progress in learning d to her opportunities and her mother's expectations. equired as high a reputation for intelligence and sound for learning; and on reaching womanhood, though of re, she is described by our historians as possessing great auty; as remarkable for her amiable, engaging, and posers; and as adorned with many virtues, especially humiwn and ornament of all others.

inte has been recorded, illustrative of her liveliness of and her ready ingenuity, if not of her ambition in early elief in astrology, or in the existence of some pre-ordained ageable connection between the fate of an individual in a position of the stars at his birth, was common at that Katharine, like many others, consulted some professed tenying with age," and in 1670, according to the Pembroke Memoirs, it is ince that period it has suffered still more from the destroying hand matter of England and Wales, vol. xv., p. 198. The prefixed engraving a its present state.

would be born in England at the same astrological aspect of the stars, the same puttered, but could not prove true as to Katharine believed in astrology, and had the star-seer she consulted, it was usual f mother called her to work, to say, "My he crowns and sceptres, not needles and shave spoken partly in jest, and partly i truth of the nativity-caster's vaticination flattering, though vague and undefined, drone day to the dizzy eminence of royalty neglect the use of the needle, and attaine the art of embroidery equalled by few.

At a very early age—the exact date is married to Edward Lord Borough, of widower, distantly related to her, who concern grandfather. To this nobleman, with who of Gainsborough, she had no children; and place in 1528-9, she became a widow, who ceeded her fifteenth year. She became, see wealthy aged widower, John Neville, Lor previously twice married. The date of her man is uncertain, but she did not, perhaps,

of age. She now resided with him, chiefly at his stately manf Snape Hall, in Yorkshire, a goodly castle, distant about two from Great Tanfield. By this second marriage she had no



Soupe Hall-

n, and she again became a widow early in 1543. Lord Latias a decided Roman Catholic, and died in that faith, as is
throm his leaving, by his will, funds "to endow a grammarat Wells, and to pray for him, the founder." Katharine's amiapositions, her good sense, and her conscientious performance
daties as a step-mother, gained her the esteem and affection
children of both the noblemen to whom she had been united.
That period she became a convert to the reformed doctrines it
cult, perhaps impossible, now to determine. It is a mistake
pose, as has been done by some writers, that the knowledge and
of them were instilled into her mind from childhood. From
the written by her after her marriage with Henry VIII., and
among her papers after her death, it is evident that she had
in weak, with a preface from the pen of Secretary Cecil, was printed at London.

"am I, that when the Prince of princes, many pleasant and gentle words unto many and sundry times that they cannot withstanding these great signs and token unto him, but hid myself out of his sight by-ways, wherein I walked so long that him. And no marvel or wonder, for I Ignorance, who dimmed so mine eyes th get any sight of the fair, goodly, straight, trine, but continually travelled uncomforta and perverse ways; yea, and because the many, I could not think but that I walks way, having more regard to the number order of the walking; believing also most to have walked to heaven, whereas, I am r brought me down to hell. I forsook the true living God, and worshipped visible

in 1548, under the title, The Lamentation or Compla virtuous and right gracious Lady, Queen Katharine, be life, led in superstition; very profitable to the amend printed at London in 1563 "at the instant desire of tl Duchess of Suffolk, and the earnest request of Lord ampton, brother to Queen Katharine Parr." It ha Miscellany, vol. v., pp. 277-298. It is an original wo sen's hands, believing by them to have gotten heaven. Furbermore, the blood of Christ was not reputed by me sufficient for to mah me from the filth of my sins, neither such ways as he had speinted by his Word, but I sought for such riffraff as the Bishop f Rome hath planted in his tyranny and kingdom, trusting, with rest confidence, by the virtue and holiness of them, to receive full mission of my sins." 1 At length, however, by the study of the sacred Scriptures, and of the writings of the Reformers, accompanied sincere humble prayer for the illuminating grace of the Holy pirit her faith in Popery became unsettled, the truth in its purity samed with serene effulgence upon her mind, and receiving it corfally, as impressed with the seal of Heaven, she was brought under wing power. This change upon her sentiments and feelings, it probable, took place during the lifetime of Lord Latimer, though may not then have made open profession of her faith. After his tests her house, it appears, became the resort of the most learned ad realous of the Reformers, and conventicles were held in it for the elebration of the Protestant worship.

Being again loosed from the matrimonial tie by the death of her model husband, Katharine soon found new candidates for her hand and heart. Among these appeared no less a personage than her wording, Henry VIII., thus bidding fair to verify to the full the prological soothsayer's flattering prediction. Henry, in his former decisions of a wife, had been resolutely bent on wedding a maid, but having some doubts whether in this respect he had not hitherto been made upon, he purposed now to marry a widow, who had given the first of chastity and loyalty to her former husband. He fixed upon that arine, who still retained so many charms as captivated his fickle hear; and for once he found a lady whose piety, discretion, and many excellent qualities, surpassed even her personal attractions.

To this flattering offer her heart at first gave a cold response: her littles were placed elsewhere. She passionately loved a nobleman of aptivating person and manners, though not of corresponding ex-

¹ Harleren Miscellany, vol. v., p. 280.

nother of the Duke of Somerset, Lord of Edward VI.; and, as we learn from an from Chelsea to Seymour, after the death severe struggle to renounce the idol of bauched worn-out monarch. "I would no think this mine honest good-will toward sudden motion or passion, for, as truly as fully bent, the other time I was at liberty, man I know. Howbeit, God withstood my mently for a time, and through his grace possible which seemed to me most impossi renounce utterly mine own will, and to follow Another serious objection she must have f the character of Henry. In the prospect of ! hardly be doubted that she would feel secret pr Little as the young, to whom time has not y and misfortunes which it has brought to the gloomy presages of the future, and prone as luxuriance of health and of animal spirits, t age, as the scene only of enjoyment and har in the character of Henry, and in the tragi queens, to dispel pleasing dreams, and to cre

the mind of any young lady, and especially

reflective and intellig

and only anticipate that, amidst imperial honours, wealth, and encoments, her rest by night and her tranquillity by day would be cten disturbed, from the dread of a sudden reverse; from the appalling visions of the capricious affections of Henry changed into jeabuy, suspicion, mortal hatred; of her incarceration in the Tower misr false charges; of a mock trial, with none to show her mercy; all ended by the axe of the executioner. Nor could the most milted virtue, any more than the most dazzling beauty, afford secufily against such a fate. By a word or a look, on her part meaning withing, but construed by jealousy into something criminal, or by a which accidental circumstance, or simply because he had transferred is affections to another object, his caresses of to-day might be urlanged for frowns and mortal feud to-morrow. That such a train of thought actually passed through her mind, is manifest from the Mayer she returned to Henry when he first disclosed to her his intestion of making her the sharer of his bed and throne, "that it was better to be his mistress than his wife;" a sarcasm overlooked by him at the time, from the ardour of his new affection, but which, had lived long enough, might afterwards have cost her, though nothing de could have been laid to her charge, her life. I Had she then ben left to her voluntary choice, never would she have become his walled wife. But she had satisfactory reasons for consenting to the proposed union. If it was dangerous to accept of his proposal, to have declined it would have been equally perilous.

To Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, this contemplated marriage

When, on looking out for another queen-consort, after the death of Jane Seymour, is third wife. Henry made his first offer to Christiana, the duchess-dowager of Milan, was a Fischers, at the vice-regal court, that lady is said to have given an answer still meetating—that she had but one head; if she had had two, one should have been at a majory's service.—Ellie's Letters, first series, vol. ii., p. 123. From other ladies would have received similar answers, had they as freely spoken their mind. They had too much respect for their heads to be disposed to contest an alliance with a mach who would, with the utmost unconcern, decapitate his wives whenever he tired them, and kick about their severed bleeding heads as indifferently as he would an

were his terror and distress on learning of narch's own mouth, that it was his into Katharine Parr. The bigoted chancello sequence of this marriage, an arrest wou now making to suppress the reformed do influence she might acquire over Henry, would be given for their propagation, whis secution maintained against them, were a England. He had, however, more discremonarch's inclinations. Keeping his chagown breast, he assumed the appearance of could not prevent, and was present at the of the requisite arrangements being made

at Hampton Court, July 12, 1543, the b twenty-nine. The union was formed by (chester. On the morning of that day, be majesty at Hampton Court, Gardiner, wit ordered, to his great surprise and mortifica ceed. Like Wriothesley, he was extremely Romanism, of seeing a lady of indisputal the throne; and though too prudent to co tasteful as it was to him, he complacently r ary had provided against this objection, by obtaining from Archdop Cranmer, who was delighted that his sovereign had chosen a en who patronized the new faith, a license dispensing with the bication of banns, and allowing the ceremony to take place at y heur, and in any place, "for the honour and weal of the realm."



Hampton Court, time of George II.

a being informed of this by his majesty, the prelate shrewdly susted that it was intended to play a trick upon him, by employing a to perform a service, to which, it was well known, he was in any vehemently opposed. But with great self-command he remained his feelings, and being conducted into a small private chapel the place, performed the ceremony as if entirely satisfied with the large choice; but his haughty spirit felt as if insulted; as he retired his own house his proud blood boiled with indignation, and he reduced to watch his opportunity, when he might at once gratify his limit for vengeance, and do the old faith good service, by ridding around and the world of this heretical queen.

Wristhesley and Gardiner were not mistaken as to Katharine's have easil ardent devotion to the reformed faith, though she may be have openly professed it. In her Lamentations of a Sinner,

1 Lord Campbell's Chancellors of England, vol. ii., pp. 45, 46.

her sentiments on the subject are expressed in the strongest term and though this work was not committed to writing till some tir after her marriage with Henry, she had previously formed a matur judgment on its great leading principles. At present it will be suf cient to quote only, as a specimen, the passage in which she cor pliments Henry-with somewhat extravagant adulation, it must allowed, according to the manner of the times, and from conjugal pa tiality-for having shaken off the Papal authority, and for allowing the circulation of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue among h subjects, and in which she denounces the Pope as a persecuting monst and a soul-deceiver, unequalled in all preceding ages. "Thanks ! given," says she, "unto the Lord, that hath now sent us such a god and learned king, in these latter days, to reign over us; that, wit the virtue and force of God's Word, hath taken away the veils an mists of errors, and brought us to the knowledge of the truth, t the light of God's Word; which was so long hid, and kept under that the people were nigh famished and hungered, for lack of spiritu food. Such was the charity of the spiritual curates and shepher But our Moses, and most godly wise governor and king, hath de vered us out of the captivity and bondage of Pharaoh. I m by this Moses King Henry VIII., my most sovereign favour lord and husband; one (if Moses had figured any more than Chi through the excellent grace of God, meet to be another expre verity of Moses' conquest over Pharaoh. And I mean by Pharaoh the Bishop of Rome, who hath been and is a greater I cutor of all true Christians than ever was Pharaoh of the chi of Israel: for he is a persecutor of the gospel and grace, a forth of all superstition and counterfeit holiness, bringing

¹ By the close of the year 1541, only four years and four months from the t Rogers's English Bible, before referred to (see p. 139), was imported to this there had issued from the press not fewer than twelve editions of the entire I in folio, and two in quarto. The impression of each of these editions, it has culated, amounted, on an average, to 2000 copies, thus furnishing in who Bibles. Besides this ample supply, thousands of copies of the New Testame at home, with numerous foreign editions, were in circulation among the pardently read.—Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii., p. 153.

souls to hell with his alchemy and counterfeit money, deceiving the poor souls under the pretence of holiness; but so much the greater shall be his damnation, because he deceiveth and robbeth under Christ's mantle. The Lord keep and defend all men from his juggings and sleights, but specially the poor, simple, and unlearned soils. And this lesson I would all men had of him, that, when they begin to mislike his doing, then only begin they to like God, and artially not before."

The persecuting Papists having thus some reason to dread that and a woman as Katharine would exercise a powerful influence over the mind of Henry against Popery, and in favour of heresy, be narriage had hardly been consummated, when Gardiner and when began to plot against her and the reformed members of her household. He found a ready tool in Dr. London, a canon Windsor, formerly one of Cromwell's most active agents in the visitation of the monasteries.2 London having collected matter sident to criminate, under the act of the six articles, four pious adviduals, Anthony Person, a priest, Robert Testwood and John Market, both choristers, and Henry Filmer, who had impugned the doctrine of transubstantiation, transmitted this information to Ourliner, who resolved not only to bring them to the stake, in defiso of the queen, but to convert, if possible, the discovery of their beer into the means of her ruin. He laid the information before the king and council, moving, at the same time, that a warrant be issued, authorizing a search to be made for prohibited locks and heretical papers, both in the town and in the castle of Water, the very residence of the queen. Henry, either thinking a would be something like an insult for his palace to be rummaged of justice, or shrewdly guessing that the repositories of biques contained prohibited books, would not permit inquisition to be made within the precincts of his own residence, but he allowed such to be made in the town, upon which several heretical books bel papers were seized. About the same time, besides the four Hotelm Miscelleny, vol. v., p. 289. 2 Ellis's Letters, first series, vol. ii., p. 79.

Marbeck's life was saved at the intercession queen. Some MS. notes upon the Bible, a cordance, carried down to the end of the lette from a Latin concordance (having acquired Latin tongue when a boy), by comparing the corresponding passages in the English Bible house. As he was evidently illiterate, his veracity when he asserted that these papers wof his own industry; but he soon removed allowed the use of a Latin concordance and filled, in the course of a single day, no less the with words under the letter M. The circumstance of the same of the course of the letter M. The circumstance is the same of the letter M. The circumstance is the letter M. The circums

filled, in the course of a single day, no less the with words under the letter M. The circular Henry, it would seem by Katharine, who produced the exclaimed, in a spirit of symple was generally a stranger, "Poor Marbeck be employing his time far better than those were the stranger of the stranger of the stranger."

was, however, difficult to manage the fierce the monarch, and Katharine was unable to s three, who suffered at the stake with unshri exactly a fortnight after her marriage. Gardiner was still intent upon the destruct

heretical members of her court; for he neve he was earnest to accomplish; and his catere ig on being communicated to one of the gentlemen accused, while on his way to the prelate, was seized, with all the mean his person. It was certainly contrary to Gardiner's udence thus to attempt to invade the peace of Katharine's id before the honeymoon was over, as a preliminary step to an attempt upon herself, and Henry resented the audacity. It, however, had kept himself behind the scenes, and escaped. and Simons, less fortunate, were apprehended and examined. It of the seizure of Ockham, they alleged upon oath false in self-vindication, after which, to their utter confusion, we papers were produced. They were sentenced to be paraded through the streets of Windsor, Reading, and ry, on horseback, with their faces towards the horses' tails,



Lesston and Storms paraded through Windsor.

aving fastened on their heads a paper proclaiming their per-They were next placed in the pillory. This ignominious harnt made so deep an impression on the mind of London, as died soon after in prison.

therine in all respects performed the duties of a faithful wife, collected herself with uncommon prudence. Being a very woman, as well as a person of great good sense, she studied the Henry, whose temper, in addition to its imperiousness,

Tur's dets and Monuments, vol. v., p. 436 .- Soames's Hist, of the Ref. in England,

Though, from the smallness of her st ing majesty of some other ladies, Katl her countenance and bearing peculiarly suavity, and polite vivacity of manner, dignity and grace to the court, to which unexpectedly elevated. The notices of Manriquez de Lara, Duke of Najera, a her and Henry, and the Princess Mary, 1543, and in the beginning of the ye giving the impressions of a stranger as lish court, and the personages who c "Before the duke arrived," says his chamber,1 he passed through three salor the second of which were stationed, it king's body-guard, dressed in habits of In the third saloon were nobles, knigh was a canopy made of rich figured brocs material. To this canopy and chair th all as if the king himself were present, with his cap in his hand. Here the br 1 This was at Westminster Palace.

¹ This was at Westminster Palace.
² William Lord Parr, of Kendal, created Earl o ward VI. Marquis of Northampton, Feb. 16, 1545
Henry Bullinger, dated London, June 29, 1550, des

sen entertained the duke a quarter of an hour, until it sed that he should enter the chamber of the king. Don Mendoca and Tello de Guzman entered with him, and nor did they permit us even to see the king. I do not otive of this, unless it be according to a saying of the at he whom many dread, must necessarily himself be ar and distrust.' I say this, because for many centuries ver been Christian prince nor infidel who has ordered so ions as this king, as well of his immediate relations, as of lergy, and other persons, for having spoken against his and against the opinions he maintains, that the Pope is of Rome, that his power extends not beyond his bishophe cannot ordain bishops; yet, although a layman, he f capable of ordaining them! Throughout his kingdom the Pope is forbidden, and he constitutes himself head b! The duke remained with the king half-an-hour, and me forth he went with the above noblemen to the the queen, who was accompanied by the Princess Mary, the king and Queen Katharine, daughter of our good n Ferdinand and Donna Isabel. Many ladies attended and amongst them a daughter of the Queen of Scotnother called the Queen of Mongoça.2 The duke kissed hand, by whom he was received in an animated manner. king is said to be a man of great authority and beauty. as a lovely and pleasing appearance, and is praised as a man. She was dressed in a robe of cloth of gold, and a brocade, with sleeves lined with crimson satin, and th three-piled crimson velvet; her train was more than mg. Suspended from her neck were two crosses, and a y rich diamonds, and in her head-dress were many and Her girdle was of gold, with very large pendants."3

urst Donglas, daughter of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., who married,
of Scotland, and secondly, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus.

Ame of Cleves?

3 Archaeologia, vol. xxiii., pp. 351-354.

Though not beyond the period of you and her heart was less caught than it earlier by her great, her sudden elevatexternal splendour. These did not be of all earthly things, and the greatn aspired after the better part, the one God, and in the Saviour of men, as kings and queens as well as for peasathis, reference might be made to the wand some of which she published du with Henry. A few extracts from on from The Manual of Devotion she pub

this, reference might be made to the vand some of which she published du with Henry. A few extracts from on from The Manual of Devotion she published to the Manual of Devotion she published to suffer all afflictions, to set at nought always to long for evertasting felicity. Collected ous and gracious Princess Katharine, Queen of 1 prayers or meditations are arranged in verses or by Berthelet in 1545, and a third time, without 16mo, with the additions of A Prayer for the Kinto Battle—A Devout Prayer to be daily sa Prayer; making in all above 60 pages.—Herbermanual, with the exception of the additional five Magazine for 1790, vol. lt. Katharine gave to studies on divine things, all indicating the pip Psalms, composed by her in imitation of David's

various authors, may, as consisting of passages formtimation, a casquet of devotional gems, be regarded as ression of her sentiments and feelings.

a, Lord Jesus," says she, "I pray thee give me the in thee above all things, and to quiet me in thee above above all glory and honour, above all dignity and all cunning and policy, above all health and beauty, see and treasure, above all joy and pleasure, above all ise, above all mirth and consolation that man's heart seel besides thee.

Lord God, art best and most wise, most high, most sufficient, and most full of all goodness, most sweet fortable, most fair, most loving, most noble, most gloriall goodness most perfectly is.

efore, whatsoever I have beside thee, it is nothing to art may not rest, nor fully be pacified, but only in thee. , most loving spouse, who shall give me wings of per-I may fly up from these worldly miseries and rest in

hall I ascend to thee, and see and feel how sweet thou shall I wholly gather myself in thee so perfectly, that I thy love feel myself, but thee only above myself, and ddly things, that thou mayest vouchsafe to visit me in thou dost visit thy most faithful lovers.

King of everlasting glory, the joy and comfort of all ple that are wandering as pilgrims in the wilderness of my heart crieth to thee by still desires, and my silence thee, and saith, How long tarrieth my Lord God to

strong inwardly in my soul, and cast out thereof all

The Lawrest tions of a Sinner, as we have already seen, breathes throughout pieces, an eminently devout and Christian spirit. Among her call extant, one addressed to Lady Wriothesley. comforting her under any son, may be referred to as particularly excellent. It is inserted in Eccl., vol. ii., part ii., p. 339.

cloudy fantasies of my mind.

"Let me, thy humble and unworthy a not in myself, nor in anything else besid

"For thou, Lord, art my gladness, mine honour.

"Lord, give me peace, give me inwar be full of heavenly melody, and be deve and praisings. But if thou withdraw the sometime done), then may not thy serve mandments, as I did before."

The prayer for his majesty and sold battle, included in the same Manual, bre Christian spirit, and has been consider directed by the English Liturgy to be Almighty King and Lord of hosts, whi appointed dost minister both war and David both courage and strength, bein and inexpert in feats of war, with his atthrow the great huge Goliah, our cause enforced to enter into war and battle, we O Lord God of hosts, so to turn the hidesire of peace, that no Christian blood Lord, that with small effusion of blood, a

eir devices." The prayer was probably composed in Henry having, in co-operation with Charles V., concerted avading France with a powerful army, and having endertake the expedition in person, appointed Katharine e kingdom in his absence.

I not remain long in France.². Charles V., apprehensive alty of subduing that kingdom, and earnestly desirous of arms against the Protestant princes of Germany, conce with France on the 18th of September, without conary, who upon this, judging it hopeless to persevere the attempt to conquer France, returned to England on September, 1544.

CHAPTER IL

CES OF HER DOCTRINAL SENTIMENTS TO THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

al sentiments of Katharine are more fully brought out in stions of a Sinner than in any of her other writings. The her views as to the doctrine of justification by faith in hteousness, without any works or merits on the part of the the importance she attached to this, the great central docelation, are exhibited in every part of that work. "I have reconfidence in any creature, neither in heaven nor earth, at, my whole and only Saviour. He came into the world

is, vol. iz., p. 9.

senten by her to Henry, during his absence, is to be found in Strype's at ii., part ii., p. 331. Three additional letters, written by her when time, one to the council attendant on the king's person, and two to the are inserted in Miss Wood's Letters of Royal, &c., vol. iii., p. 171, &c. tow. lett series, vol. ii., p. 130, is a letter from Henry to her, dated Sept. before Boulogne, which he was then besieging.

laments her sin in thus derogating from Saviour's merits, the only ground of a sinne as much as was in me obfuscate and darl Christ's passion, than the which no thought more value. There cannot be done so gres sure to Almighty God, our Father, as to tre only begotten and well-beloved Son. All gathered together in one, be not so heinor sight of God. And no wonder, for in Cl show himself most noble and glorious, eve most loving Father in his only dear and cl therefore I count myself one of the most w ners in the world, because I have been so my Saviour. Saint Paul desired to know n fied; after he had been rapt into the third such secrets as were not convenient and m counted all his works and doings as nothing most presumptuously thinking nothing o about to set forth mine own righteousness Pharisee, 'Good Lord, I thank thee I am n none adulterer, nor fornicator,' and so forth While holding the doctrine of justification

ousness of Christ without works of law, she.

raul saith, 'We be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the of the law; for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ in vain.' St. Paul meaneth not here a dead human and histofaith, gotten by human industry, but a supernatural and lively which worketh by charity, as he himself plainly expresseth. figuity of faith is no derogation to good works, for out of this traing all good works; yet we may not impute to the worthiness there works our justification before God, but ascribe, and give outhiness of it, wholly to the merits of Christ's passion, and and attribute the knowledge and perceiving thereof only to whose very true and only property it is to take, apprehend, and fast the promises of God's mercy, the which maketh us

regard to the Scriptures, she taught "that they are so pure ely that no perfection can be added unto them." Renouncing is traditions and inventions" as of no authority in religion, condemning the Popish priesthood for "extolling men's invenand doctrines before the doctrine of the gospel," she expressly as the supremacy of the Scriptures in all matters of faith and ice. "Truly, in my simple and unlearned judgment, no man's ine is to be esteemed or preferred like unto Christ's and the les', nor to be taught as a perfect and true doctrine, but even as the second and agree with the doctrine of the gospel."²

are is one, and only one doctrine of Popery, to which she has mid to give countenance in this work—the celibacy of the p. In describing what is required of the children of God in several vocations, she thus expresses herself: "The true folcos of Christ's doctrine have always a respect and an eye to their tien. If they be called to the ministry of God's Word, they preach teach it sincerely to the edifying of others, and show themselves, sir living, followers of the same. If they be married men, have hildren and family, they nourish and bring them up, without all

Morellany, vol. v., p. 283.

² Ibid., pp. 290, 295, 296.

³ Here, on the margin of the first editions, the word "laymen" is inserted.

rrom unis par "Katharine evidently approved of cleric approved of a dogma so contrary to S this would by no means be surprising she should remain in error on some part imperfect state of the English Reformatio VIII., she should have attained such cles of Divine truth as her writings prove her justice of the inference may be fairly of then enforced by Henry upon the function and "married men" was the phraseology of tinguish between ecclesiastics and laymen, w thereby pronounced either for or against cl is a designation claimed by the Popish cler to offer, in the mass, Christ as a true, prop fice for the living and the dead, and this : versally receive, from Protestants as well

¹ Harleian Miscellany, vol. v., p. 296.

² Miss Strickland's Queens of England, vol. v., p. 4

a In her time there were not wanting ecclesiastical the perpetual continence of the clergy, and who wrote ing that this was most becoming the sacred character impose such a law upon ecclesiastics, was to impose a had left free—was to do violence to the constitution of the enormous evils of which Ponish celiberates.

ncludes from this that Protestants maintain the doctrine of crifice of the mass, though the premises for drawing such a sion are about as good as those from which it is attempted to Katharine's belief in clerical celibacy.

Henry's children, some of whom, as Mary, were not many years or than herself, Katharine acted the part of a mother. Under perintendence the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth prosecuted studies in the various branches of learning; and while aiming at improvement in knowledge, and in every suitable accomplishable particularly turned their attention to the study of the Scripand of the writings of the Reformers. Elizabeth, when only years of age, probably at her suggestion, translated into English aret, Queen of Navarre's poetical work, entitled Le Mirroir de Pecherase, i.e., The Mirror of the Sinful Soul, into English After having completed the translation, she sent it to Kate for examination and revision, accompanied with an interest-tier.

mediately after this Elizabeth translated Katharine's Prayers or thiose, &c., above referred to, into Latin, French, and Italian, edicated the translation to Henry, her father. The dedication ad Hatfield, December 30, 1545.4 Under the care of Katharine and Dr. Grindal, Elizabeth's tutor, who, solicitous about her overment in Christian knowledge and piety, engaged her in this imilar exercises, this princess acquired no inconsiderable knowledge and of the Sacred Scriptures.

on her son-in-law, Prince Edward, the youngest of Henry's ary was been February 18, 1516, and consequently was Katharine's junior by three years.

shard's Memoirs of Learned Ladies, p. 212.

this letter in Miss Wood's Letters of Royal, &c., vol. in , pp. 177-179.

share's Memoirs of Learned Ladies, p. 213. These translations are to be found guarantees the Royal Massuscripts, in the British Museum, in a small volume in emmal humag. "Elizabeth had great fondness for the Latin and Italian tongues,
ale in life at least, seems, like her sister, Mary L, to have had but small love for,
whichly little shill in French; though Mary and Elizabeth were both instructed
at language under the direction of Queen Katharine Parr."—Note of Ellis, in his
to the uries, vol. it, p. 246.

ninth year of his age, are still extant, and a expressions of affection and gratitude for her attentions.¹

Henry's war with France being extremely exhis coffers, and reduced him to great pecuniary money he had adopted various expedients, as procuring "benevolences," and raising loans w to pay. All this being inadequate to supply I obliged to summon Parliament and the Convocation percentage on their incomes for two years. The voted him a still larger subsidy; and, appreher mands being made upon their purses, placed a and hospitals in the kingdom, with their lands at his sovereign disposal; thus exposing the wof sharing the fate of the monasteries. On this in her zeal on behalf of the interests of educativection to these seats of learning. The University of the state of the content of the seats of learning.

¹ In the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts a volume is transcript of Edward's Latin letters to Katharine and ot wardi Principis illustriesimi, quas suopte marte composuit e From the tenderness of Edward's age, as well as from the Job, Solomon, Ludovicus, Vives, St. Paul, Horace, Cicero, contain, it may be fairly concluded that his majesty was ass

f being broken up, as the monastic institutions had been, sent to her in Latin, by Dr. Smith (afterwards Sir Thomas Smith, ned secretary of state to King Edward), praying her to lay presentation before his majesty, and employ her influence for ing intact institutions of such indisputable utility. Entering e ardent sympathies of a scholar into the sentiments and of the learned men of the university, she earnestly pled use with the sovereign, and so successfully, that needy and as he was of money, waiving the right granted him by act of ent to the property of all such establishments, he consented this university, and also that of Oxford, in full possession revenues. Her answer to the university, dated February 26, ears testimony to her correct and comprehensive views of estitutes a good education, not confining it to mere instruction various branches of secular knowledge, however important own place, to mere instruction in the vernacular tongue, in ned languages, in mathematics, philosophy, natural and moral, ending it to what must rank still higher, to instruction in t truths of revealed religion, as the best means of cultivating al and religious feelings of the young, improving and reguheir temper, and forming them to virtuous habits, thus renhem useful and ornamental members of society, and preparing or the eternal state. She strongly combated a separation a the Bible and secular knowledge in the education of youth, tended for the combination of moral and religious with inal training. "Your letters," says she, "I have received by etor Smith, your discreet and learned advocate. rasmuch as I do well understand all kind of learning doth amongst you in this age, as it did amongst the Greeks at long ago, I require and desire you all not so to hunger for misite knowledge of profane learning, that it may be thought o Greeks' university was but transposed, or now in England revived, forgetting our Christianity; since their excellency did tain to moral and natural things: but rather, I gently exhort

covangelii. To the sincere setting forth wh in all your vocations and ministries, you your sundry gifts, arts, and studies, to such bridge may be accounted rather an universit than of natural and moral, as Athens was.

"Upon the confidence of which, your accordation, zeal, and request, I, according to you lord, the king's majesty, for the stay of you (notwithstanding his majesty's property an consent of the high court of Parliament) his patron to good learning, will rather advance therefor, than confound these your colleges; hereafter ascribe her very original, whole stay, to our sovereign lord, her only defence the prosperous estate and princely governm preserve, I doubt not but every one of you cation, call upon Him, who alone and only coreature."²

Katharine's zeal was not limited to the diformed doctrines among the comparatively tended the universities. She earnestly desire the great body of the people, and with this viand vain-glorious. "These men," says she, "might be this kind of argument to forsake the use of fire, because a their neighbour's house; or to abstain from meat and use they see many surfeit. O blind hate! They slander an's offence, and excuse the man whom they see offend, the Scripture which they cannot improve."

note the knowledge of the Scriptures among the people, resolved upon translating into English Erasmus's Latin of the New Testament,2 in order to its being printed for culation. This work, from its intrinsic value, as well as ame of its author, which would induce many to read it, I not have read a similar work by an author of inferior was well adapted for the proposed object. By exhibiting e of justification by faith, and the necessity of repentance of life; by condemning the worship of images and of rimages, and superstition in various forms; by exposing y, blasphemy, hypocrisy, ambition, and usurpations of the ne, the abuses of monasteries and the jugglery of priests; ing the duties of a Christian pastor, and particulary how of instruction ought to be drawn from the fountain of the riptures, it was fitted to open men's eyes to the errors, and impleties of Popery, and to give increased currency rmed sentiments.

e translation of this paraphrase might be executed in a

Miscellasy, vol. v., p. 294.

parase on the various books appeared at distant intervals. If we may
be dates of the dedications, that on the Epistle to the Romans was pubT; that on the First Epistle to Timothy, on the First Epistle to the
and on the Epistle to the Ephesians, in 1519; that on the Epistle of
the Apostles, in 1524; and that on Mark, in 1533. The paraphrase on
elicated to Charles V., Emperor of Germany; that on John, to Ferdinand,
Austria; that on Luke, to Henry VIII. of England; and that on Mark,
of France, it being Erasmus's object "to dedicate the four gospels to the
immusches of the world. And," adds he, "would to God that, as the
ooks appropriately join together your names, so the evangelical spirit may
twist your hearts." The paraphrase on the Book of Revelation was
by Erasman, but by Leo Jude.

was translated by Thomas Key, registrary mended by Dr. Owen, the king's physicia Matthew was, according to the supposition Katharine herself; and at her earnest solic undertook to translate the paraphrase on other portions of the work engaged the lamen.²

Katharine was not ignorant of Mary's d nected with the Reformation; but the pr made her submission to the will and relig the queen, if she did not altogether believ submission, might think that it would have mind of Mary, to get her to engage in the to on one of the gospels, written by a man t for his learning, and from whose writings, co moderation, she might more readily imbib timents, than from the writings of the a Romish church. This literary exercise unfor the temper, nor enlightened the understa She is, however, said to have taken much p of the portion assigned her; but falling sick she desisted, leaving the remainder to be Mallet,3 her chaplain. Strype ascribes her ness was fully as much owing to her aversion to the task as exertion, observes, that "she would not so easily have been a sickness had she been employed on the legends of St. or St. Catherine of Sienna." An elegant letter in Latin from an to Mary, in reference to this translation, has been prefrom which we learn the anxiety of the queen to have the tark executed with accuracy, and ushered into the world by recommendation promising to procure it acceptance and ty. Of this letter the following is a translation:—

ough, most noble and dearest lady, many considerations induce me to write to you at present, yet I am chiefly influte a solicitude for your health, which I hope is now perfectly and concerning which I am greatly desirous to be made ed. I have, therefore, despatched this messenger, whom I be you will kindly welcome, both on account of his eminent music, which affords most delightful entertainment at once and to myself, and because, coming immediately from me, he you certain information as to my health and my whole circus. It was indeed my intention, before now, to have paid ects to you in person, but things have not fallen out in all as I could have wished. I now hope that during this and at no distant day, we shall meet together, than which will afford me greater pleasure.

have been informed that the finishing hand has been put to the translation of Erasmus's paraphrase on John, and hing now remains but that all diligence and care be taken ag it. I entreat you to transmit to me this most elegant and ork, now amended by Mallet or some of your learned friends, may be committed to the press in due time, and that you so signify whether you wish it published with your name, ould be most advantageous to the work, or anonymously. opinion, you will considerably obstruct its success if you let it go down to posterity under the sanction of your name. ready to approve of whatever you shall th "I return you abundant thanks for the as a present. I beseech the all gracious an safe to bless you with long life, and with From Hanworth, the 20th of September. affectionate friend, "KATHARIN The whole expense connected with the work was defrayed from the queen's private from Nicolas Udal's epistle dedicatory to which he says, that "at her exceeding gre had hired workmen to labour in the viney procured the whole paraphrase of Erasmus ment, to be diligently translated into Engl she employed upon this work." He at th hope that the king would not allow it to but would cause it to be printed, as the commodity and benefit of good English per thirsting and hungering after the sincere God's Word." Henry, it thus appears, was and had he lived till the work was ready for bably have been printed and published un-During the lifetime of Katharine, the

was that on the Gospels and on the Acts of

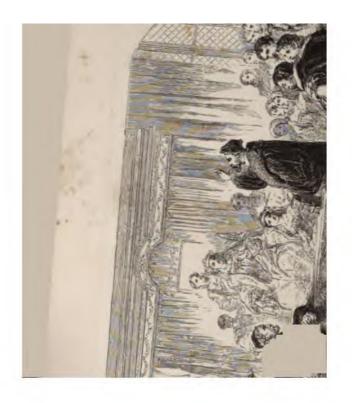
epistle dedicatory to Katharine, Udal pays a merited comto the ladies of rank in England, many of whom at that altivated with enthusiasm profane and sacred learning; and ces a high eulogium on the devotion of the queen to the study a, and of divine things. "A great number," says he, "of men at this time in England are not only given to the study a sciences and strange tongues, but also so thoroughly expert Scriptures, that they are able to compare with the best as well in enditing and penning of godly and faithful treathe instruction and edifying of realms in the knowledge of also in translating good books out of Latin or Greek into for the use and commodity of such as are rude and ignorant aid tongues. It is now no news in England to see young in noble houses, and in the courts of princes, instead of cards r instruments of idle trifling, to have continually in their ther pealms, homilies, and other devout meditations, or else pistles, or some book of Holy Scripture matters, and as famith to read and reason thereof in Greek, Latin, French, or as in English. It is now a common thing to see young virrained in the study of good letters, that they willingly set vain pastimes at nought for learning's sake. It is now no all to see queens and ladies of most high estate and progeny, of courtly dalliance, to embrace virtuous exercises, reading ting, and with most earnest study, both early and late, to emselves to the acquiring of knowledge, as well in all other arts and disciplines, as also most specially of God and his ord. And in this behalf, to your highness as well for comand setting forth many godly psalms, and divers other conwe meditations, as also for causing these paraphrases to be ed into our vulgar tongue, England can never be able to

spression of the whole work was issued in 1552. In the reign of Edward, a tracend to be placed in every parish church in the kingdom, to be read on the and holy days to the people.—Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. ii., part i., pp.

taking.

The zealous endeavours of Kathan lication of Erasmus's paraphrase, e Bishop Gardiner, and deepened his was published he violently urged hi Duke of Somerset, the Lord Protector with those who said that Erasmus had had hatched them. He represented t power of princes, as well as full of oth powerfully tending to foster in evil which had lately sprung up. He migl mination," on account both of the fals its matter. In Latin it was bad enoug the translators, who knew neither of th from ignorance, and often from design, Besides, being written by Erasmus in sentiments which, in his mature judgm as to the law requiring every parish to lating from the price of the book and t purchasers, equivalent to the imposition Gardiner, much as he detested the Eng paraphrase, had it not in his power to of Mary to the throne.





ending to about an hour's length, and frequently touching buses rampant in the church, was delivered by one of a in her privy chamber, she herself, her ladies, and such hold gentlemen and others as were inclined, being prese exercises she by no means made a secret, and they unknown nor disagreeable to the king, who at first, and rable time, seemed rather pleased than dissatisfied with the himself never attended.

confidence from his tolerance, if not approbation of her sticles, Katharine began to take the liberty to converse their hours of social intercourse, on religious questions, e Protestant doctrines from Scripture and reason with and spirit. So far did she carry this freedom, as freher Protestant zeal, to urge him, by all the gentle arts to purge the Church of England from the remaining sh superstition and idolatry, and thus complete the work on he had commenced, to the glory of God and his own elivering England from the thraldom of the Pope. In gious subjects on his attention, she was influenced by on, chiefly affecting himself. Perceiving that his natus constitution was broken down by a complication of appearance mortal, though lingering, and knowing that burden of the unpardoned, because unrepented, guilt of nost dreadful crimes which man can commit was lying she was desirous of bringing him, while yet he had time repent, seriously to think of the awful account he beto render at the bar of the righteous Judge of all, and igh, and weep for his life and time so evil spent," to use u to him the language she applies to herself, and to seek and remission through the merits of Christ," trusting to only advocate and mediator between God and man." in her converse with him to advert to the most solemn gion, ungrateful to him at all times, and not more graten he ought especially to have felt their importance; and

or his life become increasingly op ingly fierce in temper, by reason of his to counsel from very few, and still less by argument on points of theology, as t Defender of the Faith, and as strenuous fallibility as the Pope, he thought that ev as he thought; but, from the singular felt for her, till prejudices against her we his mind, he listened to her counsels and with respect, or at least without any indi Even when his ulcerated leg, which grad duced him to a state of sickness, and rene and difficult to be pleased, she continued quest or of her own accord, to endeavour, move him zealously to proceed in the reform though his aggravated pain and restless patiently than formerly to such discourse, affection did she enjoy, that there was som granted freely and fully to preach the go and of the Reformation being carried to a before.

These promising appearances were, how from the caprice of the king, and partly fr ch, if continued, would issue in the utter ruin of Popery in Engformed a plot not only to decrown but to decapitate her, that, ing removed out of the way the most illustrious patroness of the ormers, they might openly, and without fear of control, fall upon exterminate, with fire and sword, the whole of that hated body. at as was the influence they had acquired over Henry by panderto his worst passions, they yet judged it prudent to proceed h caution. His great favour and warm affection for the queen de them doubtful of success, and for some time they did not dare s to open their lips against her in his presence, or even behind back, save to their own confidants. But their deep malignity ermined them to watch the course of events, in the hope that sportunity would occur of infusing into the royal mind ill-will inst her. At no distant date an opportunity did occur, and it was orly seized upon. Gardiner, happening to be present at one of visits she paid to the king, at a time when the more than ordiy pain he suffered from his ulcerated leg rendered him unusually table, observed the impatience of the monarch as she began to ad the cause of the oppressed, and to urge upon him the imporon of carrying on the reformation of the church-how, not seemto reliab the theme, he made an abrupt transition to more agreetopics. On that occasion, indeed, the king conversed with her ther subjects with courteous affection, and in taking farewell called , as usual, " sweetheart;" but immediately upon her departure he we vent to his chagrin, deeming it the highest presumption for to pretend to instruct him. "A good hearing it is," said he to blahop, "when women become such clerks, and a thing much to comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife." Garliner, observing the king's displeasure at the queen, and thinkthat now the hour of vengeance had at last arrived, resolved to the the iron when it was hot, by stirring up in Henry such suscon, jenlousies, and prejudices against her as might lead to her writrow, and thus defeat all her endeavours in behalf of the Refor-

sion. "I dislike," said the impudent and malignant prelate,



Gardiner inciting Henry against Kath

but also above doctors professed in divinity. for any of your majesty's subjects to reason malapertly, and it is grievous to me, and of counsellors, to hear the same. They all knowisdom to be such that you do not require matters. How dangerous and perilous is it a prince to suffer such insolent words from he

greatest subject in the land, speaking such words as she d defending such arguments as she defended, had deserved et I will not and dare not, without good warrant from your speak what I know in the queen's case, although I have ands for doing so, and such as my dutiful affection towards sty, and my zeal for the preservation of your estate, will permit me to conceal, though the uttering thereof may, her and her faction, be the destruction of myself, and of we most at heart their prince's safety, unless your majesty eir protector. Which if you do (and for your own safety not to refuse), I, with others of your faithful counsellors, a short time disclose such treasons, covered with the cloak that your majesty will easily perceive the danger of chererpent within your own bosom. Howbeit, I will not for willingly meddle with the matter, both from reverent rehe queen for your majesty's sake, and also lest the faction grown already too great to render it consistent with your infety to discover it."

speech Gardiner, affecting, with malignant craft, a tone and great concern for the preservation of the authority and he crown, assured his majesty that the toleration of these was inconsistent with his safely enjoying his crown; that though disguised motives, were to undermine the royal to destroy the distinctions of rank, to place all men on an and that the queen, by embracing and advocating their , had become the supporter of traitors to the throne, and mies of social order. This was the common slang brought Reformers by their enemies, either ignorantly or malirobably both, in every country of Europe; and calumnious was-for the Reformers earnestly inculcated submission will authority of princes, and respected the distinctions a society-it contributed powerfully in creating prejuhe minds of monarchs against the Reformation, and in hem to attempt to crush it, if possible, by deadly persecuthat she might forthwith be brought to tri fixed resolution not to spare her should she is the statutes of the realm. With this common fully anticipating that ere long this Protes the way of Henry's former wives.

The more effectually to compass their Wriothesley suborned accusers, and adopted ing what books forbidden by law she had i thought it best to begin with some of th chamber suspected of heretical pravity, wit on terms of intimate friendship. The chief Anne, wife of Sir William Herbert, afterwa Lady Lane, her cousin-german; and Lady I like the queen, were friendly to the reformed social confidential intercourse they would dis now contested by the Reformers, and now sha ecclesiastical fabrics of Europe-transubstar the host, purgatory, praying to angels, saint pilgrimages, the virtues of saints' relics, an each bringing the force of her understanding issue, and contributing her store of remark, tures, or from the writings of the Reformer new sources of mutual intellectual enjoymen ter for criminating the queen herself; in which case she was to astantly arrested and carried prisoner, by barge, during night, to Tower. Articles of impeachment were drawn up, and brought Wriothesley to the king. His majesty signed them without tation, so that, to all appearance, the tragedy of the execution nother queen would speedily be enacted.

coording to Foxe, Henry acted throughout dissemblingly, having al intention of bringing Katharine to the block, but merely ing to see how far her enemies would carry their persecuting ity. From the frequency with which the martyrologist interjects use to this effect during the course of his narrative of this affair. ems very anxious to impress on the minds of his readers a belief he generous intentions of Henry, which are extremely doubtful. he were not in earnest," says Lord Herbert, "it was thought a the jest, especially to a queen that had the reputation of a virtuhumble, and observant wife." 1 Besides, if the monarch in this ance was governed by generous feeling, he acted somewhat at ance with his past character and conduct. He had hitherto on no reluctance to shed the blood of his wives; he had already thered two of them, and from an ominous clause of an act passed his dictation in the Parliament which met January 14, 1544, thating the succession to the crown, only six months after her mage, and from a clause equally significant in his will, it appears t mitwithstanding her youth and health, and his advanced years declining health, he contemplated surviving her, and wedding ther wife. In the act of Parliament referred to is the following And forasmuch as it standeth in the only pleasure and of Almighty God, whether the king's majesty shall have any begutten and procreated between his highness and his most enly beloved wife, Queen Katharine, or by any other his lawful And in his will, dated December 30, 1546, settling the resion, after nominating Prince Edward his immediate successor,

¹ Life of Henry VIII., p. 561.

² Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII., pp. 503-506.

formerly, on paying her accustomed visits tance of church reformation. And he list tradiction or displeasure; her strong good gentleness of manner, gaining on his heart, ing him to relent, if he ever really intend purpose of her enemies to take effect.

For her first knowledge of the conspirac accidental circumstance. Wriothesley havi his bosom the articles of impeachment, found by one of Katharine's friends, who in her hands. On reading the document, and nature appended to it, the sudden and u wicked plot against her life came upon h ning; and, stunned with the blow, she faint consciousness she was in the deepest distrewas sealed. The fate of Anne Boleyn rushed with horror upon her mind; and t past conduct of the monarch made it but too now end her days upon a scaffold; "for," as "hitherto the king had never relented in once commenced, against wife or minister." affecting her bodily frame, brought upon h threatened her life. Hearing of her dange

tended no longer to be troubled with such a doctress, and to him the plot formed for her destruction, charging him by upon peril of his life, naming at the same time the conall the circumstances of the conspiracy, and how it would wou

g after, Henry, understanding that she still continued in a state, his sympathy being awakened, he personally visited ining with her about an hour, and assuring her of his conlity and affection.

aged by his majesty's gracious visit, and by Dr. Wendy's all communications, she gradually recovered; and that no it be lost, she embraced an early opportunity of repairing ag, in the hope that by her address and submissions she lavert the threatened crushing calamity. From her knownis moods and habits, she judged that the most effectual f producing a favourable impression on his mind, would be if entirely ignorant of the hostile purpose of her enemies, r soothing and submissive language might seem the sponfusion of the heart, and not assumed for any personal laving commanded her ladies to remove the prohibited books in their possession, she went the following night into

sourable judgment as to the king's intentions with regard to the queen,

tion with her on some controverted the he professed a desire that she might re presence of mind, she concealed her en life, it may be said, hung upon the ch answered his questions with coolness however, greatly committing herself. mind, explaining and vindicating all he a monarch like Henry, who was too self as oracles, either on political, ecclesias and too ferociously arbitrary to tolerate ent from his own, would have been "Your majesty," said she, "right well kn rant, what great imperfection and weaks allotted unto us women, who are ordain man, as our head, from which head all ceed; and that as God made man in hi being endued with higher gifts, might r templation of heavenly things, and to ar his commandments, even so, also, made I and by whom she is to be governed, comr womanly weaknesses and natural imperfe borne with, so that by his wisdom, such

ought to be supplied. Since

to your majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head wernor here on earth, next under God to lean upon."

speech, framed so dexterously as to chime in with Henry's agant ideas of his own superiority, and of the inferiority of whom, in fact, he only regarded as a slave to his passions, divered with the fascinating, the easy-humoured conversativacity in which she excelled, so mollified the heart of the monarch, that he exclaimed, "Not so, by St. Mary, you are a doctor, Kate, to instruct us (as we take it), and not to be sted or directed by us."

your majesty take it so," replied the queen, following up her , "then hath your majesty very much mistaken me, who have abught it very unseemly and preposterous for the woman to pun her the office of a teacher to her lord and husband, of



Basesoffiction of Henry and Katharina.

the ought rather to learn. And whereas I have, with your ty's leave, been formerly bold, in conversing with your majesty, imes to express and defend opinions different from yours, I have

any part of my desire, always refe your majesty, as by the ordination to do."

"And is it even so, sweetheart! your arguments to no worse end? again, as ever at any time heretofo he affectionately embraced and kiss more good at that time to hear these he had heard of a hundred thousand possession.

Katharine thus bowed to the storn It was fortunate for her that Henry, propensities was somewhat subdued not conceived a passion for any of the else Katharine's good sense and adromission, her engaging manners and vavailed little in appeasing his wrath, beheaded or burned on Tower Hill I way for the elevation of the new fav had fixed his affections upon no rival, in mollifying his hard heart, and retintinued favour and protection. After in her commendation as formerly in h





as of these implacable and unprincipled men. At the had fixed upon for the apprehension of their victims, a the afternoon, the weather being fine, the king, attended gentlemen of his bed-chamber, was amicably conversing en with the queen, whom he had sent for, and who was the three ladies already named. While the royal party gaged, the lord chancellor entered the garden, with forty guard at his back, in the full expectation that his majesty o him, "See these four heretics forthwith lodged in the n this he was completely disappointed. The king, who rand, looked with indignation at him and the guards, g aside to a short distance from the queen and her atteni to the chancellor, who on his knees addressed a few majesty, inaudible to the others in the garden. "Knave! re! beast! fool!" replied his majesty gruffly, in a low tone, and yet so vehemently as to be overheard by the per ladies, at the same time commanding him instantly to sence. Mortified at being thus cheated of his prey, and the wrath of the monarch, the chancellor withdrew and Thus was the plot entirely broken, though no punishafficted on the culprits who had committed this grievous the Queen of England, an outrage which, if committed on st woman in the kingdom, ought to have been severely

tely after the departure of Wriothesley, Henry returned en, who was ignorant of the hostile purpose of the chanreciving his majesty, though he still spoke kindly to her, him, she interceded for her enemy, urging that, though f the chancellor's offence, it must have proceeded from and not perversity of will; and therefore beseeching his the cause was not very heinous, to regard it in this light the smit. "Ah! poor soul," replied the king, "thou little will be deserveth this grace at thy hands. Upon my word, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let

to real, from the persevering in from the capriciousness of the monarch after overtaken him, she would at last h scaffold;2 and the terrors of a sudden r to her imagination so long as he lived; be placed on a selfish, cruel voluptuary, varying impulses; who, in regard to his laws of chivalry and honour; whose allown gratification blunted his heart into happiness or misery of every other hum living with him she was in the tiger's de that, though the savage monster might spe one day, and all of a sudden, falling upon the ferocity proper to his nature, leavi victim. Thus haunted by funereal image was stripped of its attractions, and seemed death. Such feelings were destructive of powerfully promoted the religious turn of more frequently than ever, to retire from fashionable life, to indulge in serious a Divine things, that, come what may, she Henry was now approaching the close did not live long after Katharine had m

osing scene, as might have been expected, was embittered ony of remorse. His last words, as one of his attendants to him a cup of white wine to allay his scorching deathre, " All is lost!" He died on the 28th of January, 1547, ty-eighth year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth of his age, atharine a widow, after she had been his wife three years, a and five days. The death of this tyrant, whatever were d expressions of sorrow uttered on the occasion, must have as a merciful deliverance to multitudes of his subjects. to reason to believe, as is asserted by some of our histohe retained to the last the affection with which, at his acthe throne, and even long after, he was universally regarded. modden and violent outbursts of fury to which in the latter his life he was liable, from the imperious caprice which it impossible for any human being long to please him, even tood highest in his favour could hardly contemplate his h regret. To the privy-councillor, whom he might exalt hest honours to-day, and consign to the axe of the execumorrow; to the monks, whom he had disgraced and begthe might appropriate to himself their accumulated wealth; Roman Catholics, whom he remorselessly committed to s for impugning his ecclesiastical supremacy; and to the s, on whom he as unscrupulously inflicted the same punishdenying transubstantiation, he was equally an object of ad his death must have been equally a cause of secret conn. How different this state of feeling from the enthusiasith which his accession was hailed by his united subjects! Montjoy at that time thus wrote to Erasmus, from the court wich :- "I doubt not, my Erasmus, but that when you have al of the succession of our prince, Henry VIII., to the kingthe death of his father, this will banish all sadness from L Did you see how all here leap for joy, how they are with so great a prince, how they desire nothing more coran the prolongation of his life, you could not refrain from respects, the flattering hopes expresse extravagant hyperboles!

On the death of Henry, Edward V letters of condolence to his mother-inaffection, and to his sisters. Three lett the earliest he wrote as king, are still of his youth, he doubtless experience bitter pangs of sorrow; and yet these style and tone of deep, heartfelt gri dictated by his Latin tutor, Cox, than own feelings. "Cox," as Ellis observ assume for his pupil that expression not personally feel." 2

CHAPTER

FROM HER MARRIAGE WITH LORD ADMI

AFTER Henry's death Katharine resid which was part of her jointure. Duraffection for the former object of her cl High Admiral of England' and brother ector, revived. To this nobleman, whom she had looked eyes of affection before her marriage with the deceased he now surrendered her heart, and they were soon upon purtship. Seymour "was a man of insatiable ambition, assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of superior the protector, he possessed not to the same degree the and regard of the people." A marriage with the queenould, therefore, be highly flattering to the pride of such a as indeed been said, and not without foundation, that his hts were of a more ambitious kind than even a union with marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, and the acquisition dish crown, were his most potent wishes.

sceiving from Katharine explicit declarations of her attachshe seems to have been first in making blushing confeslove-Seymour was apprehensive that by his addresses ail in insinuating himself into her good graces, and therelicited the friendly assistance of the Princess Mary, who, rom various circumstances, declined to interfere." But, in ymour did not need the services of any to assist him in e heart and hand of Katharine. He had every external ment calculated to captivate the female heart; and in her he certainly experienced no difficulties. Like himself, sirous of his obtaining the consent of his brother, the lord and of other influential parties, to his marrying her, though means imagined that any obstacles thrown in the way by at to be a sufficient bar to the union. In one of her letters out this time, signed, "Your humble, true, and loving wife, r life, Keteryn the Quene, K.P.," after adverting to his er brother-in-law, Herbert, from which she gathered that d his brother, the Protector's opposition to the marriage, ossing it as her wish that he should account it sufficient are sought his brother's good-will, she bids him endeavour

² See Mary's letter to him, dated June 4, in Ellis's sense vol. in, pp. 149-151.

to obtain favourable letters from the king, and also of the most notable members of council. "My Lord, playful affection, "whereas ye charge me with a p with mine own hand, to change the two years into think ye have no such plain sentence written with m know not whether ye be a paraphraser or not; if y that science, it is possible ye may of one word mat tence, and yet not at all times after the true meaning as it appeareth by your exposition upon my writing."

The marriage took place clandestinely, about the 1547,2 so soon after the death of Henry, that, as has Katharine immediately proved pregnant, a doubt wo to which husband the child belonged. This haste the time to censure, and though it involved no im certainly a breach of the laudable usages of society, the propriety of her allowing a longer period of time entering into a new conjugal alliance. Henry, inc claim upon her sorrow; but whatever were his der have been wise in her to have avoided seeming to spect to his memory. Hardly, indeed, had a longer from the death of her second husband, Lord Latimer married to Henry; but in that case she had no choice of her life, published by the London Religious Trace gizes for her listening to the addresses of a man of sooner than modern ideas of propriety would counte circumstance that the provision made for her by four thousand pounds, in addition to her jointure, v and that she was thus left an unprotected female in But Katharine, was by no means in narrow circum besides, ample jointures left her by her two first real explanation of this precipitate marriage was th revived passion for Seymour, hurrying her on, in c prudence that usually marked her conduct.

¹ Ellis's Letters, first series, vol. ii., pp. 151-153.

² King E

cesses Mary and Elizabeth were deeply offended at the a of their step-mother in entering into a new marriage, y judged it prudent to conceal their displeasure from ary wrote to Elizabeth in terms strongly condemnatory ne's conduct; and Elizabeth, who partook of the same h her sister, thus writes in reply: "Princess, and very you are very right in saying, in your most acceptable ch you have done me the honour of writing to me, that, s being common, the just grief we feel in seeing the ashes, he scarcely cold body of the king, our father, so shamesoured by the queen, our step-mother, ought to be comalso. I cannot express to you, my dear princess, how ion I suffered when I was first informed of this marriage, er comfort can I find than that of the necessity of subselves to the decrees of Heaven; since neither you nor I. er, are in such a condition as to offer any obstacle thereto, ming heavy risk of making our own lot worse than it is; I think. We have to deal with too powerful a party, not all authority into their hands, while we, deprived of a very poor figure at court. I think, then, that the best an take is that of dissimulation, that the mortification on those who commit the fault."1 King Edward, on the as well-pleased with the marriage, and sent Katharine a ory letter on the occasion.3

a nuptials, Katharine and Seymour left Chelsea to reside th, in Middlesex, one of Henry the Eighth's favourite which he had settled in dower upon her. Here, as at bequently to Henry's death, she had residing with her ted Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, Duke of Suffolk, a lady whose tragic history will herelated. Whilst resident with Katharine, who herself was

Elizabetta, vol. i., p. 180, quoted in Miss Wood's Letters of Royal and alers of Grest Britain, vol. iii., p. 193. ttar to her in Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. ii., part i., pp. 203-209.



whom she could have derived greater The Princess Elizabeth, whose ed care of Katharine, who was kind to h joined the new married pair. Aug abilities of Elizabeth, that Provider sovereign power, Katharine gave her "God," she would often say, "has gi vate them always, and labour to imp you are destined by Heaven to be (accession of Elizabeth to the family a of the parties. Seymour soon began t the young princess, which he carried dalous reports, exceedingly prejudicial freedoms exciting the jealousy of K domestic discord. This we learn fro nesses examined on the lord admira to Katharine's death. Mrs. Kathari ness, and Parry, her cofferer, bore exp The consequence was, as the latter v sent from the "queen, or else that her The probability is that she was sent a ter been ruined, of which there was s have been severely blamed, and her

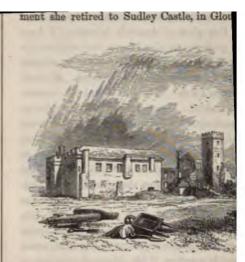
and this rendered Katharine's union with him less happy than she and anticipated. As to the celebration of the offices of religion she particularly strict, having established family worship in her massin every morning and evening, besides having sermons frequantly preached in it; but, as might be expected, such was Seymour's reject or contempt of these exercises, that on all such occasions he we are to be absent. In a sermon preached before Edward VI., 1 Burh Latimer discloses this piece of domestic history: "I have band my that when the good queen who is gone had ordained in by house daily prayer, both before noon and after noon, the admiral rets him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. He shall Lat's wife to me as long as I live. He was, I heard say, a covetman, a covetous man indeed: I would there were no more in England! He was, I heard say, an ambitious man: I would there were no more in England! He was, I heard say, a seditious man, scateman of common prayer: I would there were no more in indand! Well, he is gone. I would he had left none behind In another sermon, preached before the same monarch, Latimys, "He was a man, the farthest from the fear of God that THE I know or heard of in England." The admiral's whole life, missed, showed that he had no regard to the obligations of equity and justice, or to moral and religious obligations of any kind, never shrinking from dishonourable practices, if his objects of ambition or of pleasure could thereby be promoted.

Katharine did not give birth to an infant till considerably more than a year after her marriage. In the prospect of this auspicious want, both she and her husband were desirous that the child should be a son. Writing some time before to Seymour, who was then about from her, she says, "This shall be to desire you to receive my lumble and most hearty recommendations and thanks for your letter, which was no sooner come than welcome. . . . I gave your latter which was no sooner come than welcome. . . . I gave your latter which was no sooner come than welcome. . . . I gave your latter which was no sooner come than welcome.

¹ April 19, 1749.

² Latimer's Sermons, printed for Parker Soc., p. 228.

³ Ibid., p. 164.



Ruins of Sudley Castle.

with the youthful Lady Jane Grey. Here letter from the Princess Mary, expressing t would have a safe delivery. On the 30th expected little stranger, who turned out to b appearance, to the great joy of Seymour, thou less have gladdened him still more. But

by which she, "lying on her death-bed, sick of body, but of aind and perfect memory and discretion, being persuaded, and ing the extremity of death to approach her," bequeathed all sessed to her husband, "wishing them to be a thousand times in value than they were." Two days after, namely, on many, the 5th of September, being the seventh day after she divered, she expired, between two and three o'clock in the ag, at the castle of Sudley, in the thirty-sixth year of her

been often said that she died of a broken heart, caused by rsh treatment of her profligate husband, and not without suspif having been poisoned by his orders, suspicions probably first by his enemies, and the more readily received from a very preimpression that he aimed at a match with the Princess Elizathe, he anticipated, might one day become queen of England. symour ill-used his wife was much talked of at the time. Parry, eth's cofferer, in his examination on the trial of Seymour, states said to Mrs. Ashley, in a conversation with her as to Elizamarriage with Seymour, after the death of Katharine, "I had much evil report of the lord admiral, that he was not only covetous man and an oppressor, but also an evil jealous man; w cruelly, how dishonourably, and how jealously he had used From the evidence of Elizabeth Tyrwhit,3 in her extion on the same occasion, we learn that Katharine on her bed reproached him for having treated her with unkindness, m which seems to have taken possession of her mind, to the on of all other cares. But this paper bears internal evithat through the violence of disease Katharine's reason had affected. "Two days before the death of the queen," says

entials of the interment of the Lady Katharine Parr, &c., in Archaelogia, vol. v.,

a Strickland's Queens of England has the 5th of September as the date of the dently a typographical error.

is the lady formerly mentioned (p. 218), whom Gardiner and Wriothesley in-

Lady Tyrwhit, "at my coming to her in the morning, she a where I had been so long, and said unto me she did fear suc in herself that she was sure she could not live; whereunto I a as I thought, that I saw no likelihood of death in her. S having my lord admiral by the hand, and divers others by, spake these words, partly, as I took it, idly :- 'My Lady' I am not well handled, for those that be about me care not but stand laughing at my grief; and the more good I will the less good they will to me;' whereunto my lord adn swered, 'Why, sweetheart, I would you no hurt!' And sh him again, aloud-'No, my lord, I think so;' and immedia said to him in his ear, 'but, my lord, you have given me many taunts.' Those words I perceived she spake with good mem very sharply and earnestly, for her mind was sore unquiet lord admiral, perceiving that I heard it, called me aside ar me what she said, and I declared it plainly to him. Then sulted with me that he would lie down on the bed by her, t he could pacify her unquietness with gentle communication unto I agreed. And by that time he had spoken three or for to her, she answered him very roundly and shortly, sayin lord, I would have given a thousand merks to have had talk with Hewyke, the first day I was delivered, but I durst displeasing of you;' and I, hearing that, perceived her troul so great that my heart would serve me to hear no more. S communication she had with him the space of an hour, wh did hear that sat by her bedside."1

If what Katharine uttered at this time proceeded, as it e did, from a distempered imagination, if it was the broken and rent ravings of delirium, it is entitled to no great weight; for t sons under a partial or total eclipse of reason will reproach kindness friends who have ever treated them with the t affection, and whom they themselves have loved with idolat tachment, is a fact which, however explained, frequently of

¹ Haynes's State Papers, p. 103.

ry of mental derangement. But that Katharine's reproaches altogether unfounded, seems implied in the depositions of rwhit, from her representing Katharine, in her censures of as speaking only "partly idly," and "with good memory," saying that she declared plainly to Seymour what Katharine against him, and from the entire absence of even a single favour of his past conjugal kindness. Under her illness he, cted with apparent affection, endeavouring by tender words her thoughts from the distressing ideas preying upon her at observation frequently furnishes examples of persons acting illiar kindness towards relatives on a death-bed whom they in far from treating well during life, their sympathy, perhaps, sited at the moment, or this apparent affection being assumed heir reputation.

spicion that she was poisoned, in order to make room for his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, is totally destitute of

That, from his boundless ambition, he contemplated gainand of the princess before marrying Katharine, there seems m to doubt. From a letter of Elizabeth to him, we learn and made proposals of this kind to her immediately on her leath. "I confess to you," says she, "that your letter, all s it is, has very much surprised me, for, besides that neither for my inclination allows me to think of marriage, I never ve believed that any one would have spoken to me of nuptials when I ought to think of nothing but sorrow for the death ther. And to him I owe so much, that I must have two years o mourn for his loss. And how can I make up my mind to wife before I shall have enjoyed for some years my virgin d arrived at years of discretion." After the death of Kae again paid his addresses to Elizabeth; and, notwithstandlistarity of their ages, though she was only in her sixteenth lle he was many years older, yet such were his advantages , and his insinuating manners, that he succeeded in captivat-Las Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol. iii., p. 191.

ing her young heart. It may, however, be doubted, what proper freedoms he had used with her, whether during the of Katharine he had formed any project of this sort, and the evidence of his having attempted, as a means of carrying effect, to get rid of Katharine by poison. The state of presin which her body was found when discovered, as we shall at see, towards the close of the last century, nearly two hunsforty years after the breath had quitted it, is a strong presagainst her having been poisoned; for, had she been so, the the poison would have been to cause a rapid putrefaction at Seymour had many crimes to repent of, but this is one of there is every reason to believe he was innocent.

The body of Katharine was wrapped in cerecloth and clead; and on the part of the lead which covered the breas graved a simple inscription. The body then remained in l



Chapel of Sudley Castle.

chamber till the day appointed for interment. It being int bury her in the chapel of Sudley, preparations were made

¹ This is evident from the testimony of Mrs. Ashley, Elizabeth's govern princess herself, and of others examined on the impeachment of Seymour.

s of the funeral service in the chapel. On the morning al day her corpse was carried from the castle of Sudley d, with all the marks of distinction due to her rank, Lady being chief mourner.\(^1\) The corpse, when carried into the set down within the rails, and the mourners having taken the whole choir commenced singing certain psalms in er which three lessons were read. At the close of the the mourners, according to their degrees, and in conforhe custom on such occasions, put their offerings into the such solemn circumstances being eminently fitted, by

edges that she loved him, and Mrs. Ashley secretly encouraged the trage between them. Parry, the princess's cofferer, depones that the to him, "I would wish her [Elizabeth] his wife of all men living." For lords of council, much against the will of the princess (Ellis's Letters, -158), dismissed her governess, and substituted Lady Tyrwhyt in her chees of Somerset blamed Mrs. Ashley for indulging the princess with ty. In their letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the change, dated the lords of council simply state, as their reason for depriving Mrs. a special charge, to see to the good education of Elizabeth's person," shown herself far unmeet to occupy any such place about her grace."—

Line Papers, pp. 95-107.

of the procession, and the badges of mourning worn, are recorded in the Interment, written at the time, and printed in Archaeologia, vol. v.,

It is also inserted in Rudder's History of Gloucestershire.

Katharine's interment was long unknown. George Ballard, the indusy of Camden, a town about ten miles from Sudley, says, in his Memoirs lies (p. 96), that the particulars of her death and burial are desiderata; see of these facts appears the more extraordinary, as his business of a t often have led him into those parts. He had not seen the Breviate of ust referred to, which determines the points he desiderated. The readment in Rudder's History of Gloucestershire, by some ladies interested if Katharine, led them to the discovery of the spot of her sepulture, and particulars respecting her remains, in May, 1782, when they happened satle of Sudley. They found her grave at the north wall, within the and having pierced the leaden envelope, and removed the portion of evering the face, they discovered the features, and particularly the eyes, common preservation. In 1784, some other persons visiting the chapel ity again to open the grave. And on October 14, 1786, the Rev. Dr. Sadley Chapel, in company with two gentlemen, to gratify his curiosity investigation of the grave and remains of Katharine; and they were the body was in entire preservation. A particular account of these her last resting-place is given in Archaelogia, vol. ix., pp. 1-9, accomengraving of Katharine's incased body as found by Dr. Nash.

almoner of the deceased, as a means of lea the affecting dispensation, preached an a sermon, in which, among other things, he thinking, or spreading abroad the idea, that for the benefit of the dead, being intended a took occasion to caution them against supported and stationed about the corpse were for a honour of the departed lady. The sermon up a solemn and an affecting prayer, in violed with becoming seriousness. The conthe earth, and during the time of intermen in English. The last offices of respect hat to the mortal remains of this excellent wothers, after partaking of a dinner prepartheir homes.¹

Katharine's chaplain, Dr. Parkhurst,² sul wich, wrote a Latin epitaph commemorativ this epitaph, which was probably engraven to her memory in the chapel of Sudley, th translation:—

> "In this new tomb the royal Kath'rine Flower of her sex, renowned, great, at A wife by every nuptial virtue known And faithful royal

Seymour next her plighted hand she yields mour who Neptune's trident justly wields); in him a beauteous daughter bless'd her arms, infant copy of her parents' charms.

en new seven days this tender flower had bloom'd, aven in its wrath the mother's soul resum'd.

at Kath'rine's merit in our grief appears, ille fair Britannia dews her cheek with tears; royal breasts with rising sighs are torn; the saints she triumphs—we with mortals mourn."

as than a year after Katharine's death, namely, on 49, Seymour perished on the scaffold, under a bill of high treason.

child, whose name was Mary, upon the death of both her remaining a short time at her uncle Somerset's house, according to her father's dying request, conveyed to in Lincolnshire, the residence of Katharine, Duchess-Suffolk, a Protestant and intimate friend of the deceased e brought up under the care of that lady. She was by her governess, Mrs. Aglionby, her nurse, two maids, rvants. Her mother having made her will in favour of d his property having been confiscated on his condemnatle helpless orphan was left upon the charity of her the time of her leaving Sion, her uncle, the Duke of romised that a pension should be settled upon her for and that a portion of her nursery plate and furniture, Sion House, should be sent after her to Grimsthorpe; hich, to the disgrace of that nobleman, were never fulthstanding the persevering efforts of the Duchess of revail upon him to fulfil them.' This noble lady reote to him, to his duchess, and to William Cecil, afterslebrated Lord Burghley, on the subject. Miss Strickas given specimens of the letters to Cecil, which are a familiar tone, and with a vein of humour running m quite characteristic of the writer, asserts that they e, vol. iz., pp. 1-9. * Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. ii., p. 201.

only requires to be lairly represented duchess from these hard censures, with her train, consisting of some dozen derable expense, and the duchess foun running into debt, to support this large according to the etiquette of the times, Dowager and of the Lord Admiral of Eng has been just now said, had promised the plate should be delivered with the chi Grimsthorpe, and that a pension should nance. Under these circumstances was i proof of ingratitude to Katharine Parr, daughter, was it worldly or sordid for th urgent in endeavouring to obtain from these promises, the more especially as the deprived of the vast wealth which she ou her parents? This, so far from being bl was bound in duty to do. In other case the Queens of England can carry her c travagant extent. She attempts, even ing the contrary,2 to screen Queen Ma Protestant blood shed under her reign; inadequate evidence as these letters, she KD.]

r Seymour continued, it appears, for some years at least, under the of the duchess, and she was ultimately married to Sir Ed-Bushel—a respectable alliance, though inferior to what she probably have obtained had her parents' wealth come into her tion.

1 Queens of England, vol. v., pp. 129-131.





chanced, and the sympathies of the human heart powerfully enlited on her behalf, from the romantic events crowding the narrative of her brief course, and from the tragic death by which it was

LANT JANE GREY was the eldest daughter of Henry Grey, third Margin of Dorset, by his second wife, Lady Frances Brandon, eldest agher of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, widow of MIL, King of France, second daughter of Henry VII. of Engand youngest sister of Henry VIII. Thus she was of the blood-Ingland on the mother's side, and she was also connected, and by consanguinity, with the royal family on the father's side, paternal great-great-grandmother, Elizabeth Woodville, relict of I John Grey of Groby, having been queen-consort to Edward IV. father, Henry Grey, when he succeeded to the honours of his bily, on the death of his father, which happened in 1530, was, in at of rank, one of the first noblemen of his time. In 1547, the Year of the reign of Edward VI., he was made lord high-confor that monarch's coronation, and was elected a knight of the in 1550 he was constituted justice-itinerant of all the king's in the following year he was appointed warden of the east, and middle marches towards Scotland; and on October 15, he was created Duke of Suffolk. If not entirely without amon, he appears to have been a man quietly disposed; and though possessed of those powerful talents and that force of character exert a commanding influence over others, and which, seizing a circumstances, can convert them into the means of promoting the of great undertakings, he was a warm friend of the Reformaand a patron of learned men.

The date of Lady Jane's birth has not been exactly ascertained. If,

Es fest wife was Kutharine Fits-Alan, daughter of William, Earl of Arundel.

Dimeth Woodville and her family have been immortalized by Shakspeare in his

Mary, and she had no brothers. In her e able for gentle and engaging dispositions, ordinary natural abilities, and a passionate her earliest tutors were Thomas Harding father's chaplains, both learned men, and s doctrines, though the former, who had not latter, relapsed into Popery on the accession Aylmer being a kind-hearted man, as we treated Jane, whom he soon discovered to be with affectionate gentleness; and under a studied, and became deeply versed in the La which she both wrote and spoke with great also got lessons in Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arab

¹ Thomas Harding was educated at Winchester, an which he was elected a fellow in 1536. He was afterws Hebrew professor in that university. Of a temporizing as much a Reformer as Henry VIII. during the life of t accession to the throne, he professed the reformed faith he became chaplain in the family of the Marquis of Do good Protestant; but no sooner had Mary ascended Popery. He was preferred by the queen to a prebend of ship of Sarum. Upon the accession of Elizabeth he we engaged in warm and protracted controversy with Bish. ² John Aylmer was, as we have seen before (p. 94), p. Anne Boleyn, Lady Jane's father.

hardly possible for her to attain, as some have affirmed,1 roficiency in all these languages, which it would require the long life to master. The lighter branches of education she ly cultivated. She played admirably on various musical its, and accompanied them with a voice of exquisite sweetembroidery and other works of the needle she eminently and the hand she wrote was remarkable for its beauty, y be accounted for from her having received, with her sisas in the art of writing from Roger Ascham,2 an exquisite and one of Queen Elizabeth's tutors. She was also probably ladies then generally were, some knowledge of physic and and even spinning. In the extent of her attainments, and ady acquisition of every kind of knowledge, she surpassed mals. Prince Edward, her second cousin, though a boy of n capacity, and nearly of her age, being born October 12, considered decidedly her inferior. She was frequently court by her parents; and though little more than a child,

nas Chaloner, for example, in his Latin elegy upon her. This piece is in-

scham, who was born at Kirby Wiske, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire, ess 1515, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, was one of the slished scholars of his day. He was elected fellow of his college at the eighteen, and in 1548 was appointed tutor to the Princess (afterwards beth, whom he taught writing, as well as the Greek and Latin languages, was a consummate master. He was afterwards made Latin secretary to and in 1550 he accompanied Sir Richard Morison on his embassy to the naries V. On his return to England, Mary was the reigning sovereign, be continued to profess himself a Protestant, he was allowed, in considerament abilities, to retain his fellowship in his alma mater, together with his le orator. On the elevation of Elizabeth to regal power, he was rewarded pupil with a prebend in the church of York. He died of ague, according unts, in December, 1568, according to others, on the 4th of January, 1569. da were, "I am suffering much pain, I sink under my disease; but this is m, this is my faith, this prayer contains all that I wish for, 'I desire to a and to be with Christ.'" His published letters in Latin have been adse for the excellence of the matter and for their classic style. He is also if various poems, of the Schoolmaster, and of a somewhat whimsical work, makifus; a treatise of shooting in the long-bow, to which he was passioned -Granger's Biographical History of England, vol. i., pp. 326, 327 .-I History of Cambridge College, vol. ii., pp. 117, 118.

was, from her learning, set up as a pattern for imitation tion to the young prince. To her natural abilities a scholarship were added early piety and an enlightened tachment to the reformed principles, for which she was i Aylmer, and probably in no small degree to Queen Kath who, as Henry VIII. was her grand-uncle, was her grand-uncle, was her grand-uncle.

Lady Jane, who was a great favourite with Katharine her, as has been seen before,2 at Chelsea, subsequently t of Henry VIII., and at Hanworth after Katharine's ma Lord Seymour of Sudley, Lord Admiral of England, a much advantage from being placed under her superintend was residing with her at Sudley Castle at the time of death, in September, 1546, and was chief mourner at her letter written by her, when a child only eleven years old, admiral, the month following the death of Katharine, is Its penmanship is remarkably beautiful; and having e notice of all her biographers, it is here subjoined, as being specimen now remaining of her epistolary writing:-" your lordship in most humble wise remembered, with no for the gentle letters which I received from you. Think so much bound to your lordship for your great goodness t from time to time, that I cannot by any means be able to the least part thereof, I purposed to write a few rude line lordship, rather as a token to show how much worthier I lordship's goodness, than to give worthy thanks for the these my letters shall be to testify unto you that, like a become towards me a loving and kind father, so I shall most ready to obey your godly monitions and good instr becometh one upon whom you have heaped so many bene thus, fearing lest I should trouble your lordship too mu

¹ Howard's Lady Jane Grey and her Times, p. 131.
2 See Life of Katharine Parr, p. 231.

take my leave of your good lordship.—Your humble servant, ay life, "Jane Grey.

he right honourable, and my singular good lord, the Lord give these." 1

ig as Katharine Parr was living, young Jane's parents had afidence that their daughter would, in all respects, be caretched over; but on the death of that virtuous and pious alarmed at the thought of leaving their daughter under the fa man so ambitious, intriguing, and unprincipled, as was admiral, they were exceedingly desirous to have her restored and a curious correspondence took place in consequence them and his lordship, who was not less desirous to retain on this correspondence we learn that her parents, from hich can only now be conjectured, had promised to be guided lvice of the admiral in the disposal of her hand; a promise importance in his account, as it might be rendered subserhis ambitious projects. "Where it hath pleased you," says quis of Dorset in a letter to the lord admiral, dated Bradtember 19, [1548], "by your most gentle letters to offer me le of my daughter at your lordship's house, I do as well edge your most friendly affection towards me and her herein, ender unto you most deserved thanks for the same: Neverconsidering the state of my daughter and her tender years she shall hardly rule herself as yet without a guide), lest ld, for lack of a bridle, take too much the head, and conceive nion of herself, that all such good behaviour as she heretolearned, by the queen's and your most wholesome instrucould either altogether be quenched in her, or at least much sed, I shall, in most hearty wise, require your lordship to her to the governance of her mother; by whom, for the fear y she oweth her, she shall most easily be ruled and framed virtue, which I wish above all things to be most plentiful

Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol. iii., p. 197. It is enily Lady Jane, 1st October, 1518." in her. And although your lordship's good mind concern honest and godly education, is so great that mine can be n yet weighing that you be destitute of such one as should coras a mistress, and [ad]monish her as a mother, I persuade that you will think the eye and oversight of my wife shall be respect most necessary. My meaning herein is not to withd: part of my promise to you for her bestowing, for I assure yo ship I intend, God willing, to use your discreet advice and cor that behalf, and no less than my own. Only I seek, in these he years wherein she now standeth, either to make or mar (as t mon saying is) the dressing of her mind to humility, sobern obedience. Wherefore, looking upon that fatherly affection you bear her, my trust is that your lordship, weighing the p will be content to charge her mother with her, whose waking respecting her demeanour shall be, I hope, no less than y friend, and I as a father, would wish."1

A letter from the marchioness to the admiral, to the sam accompanied this from the marquis, and the result was the Seymour, much against his will, permitted Lady Jane to to her parents. He, however, made strenuous efforts to back; and by promising to her father that he would marr King Edward, and by offering him, what he greatly needed, sum of money, he succeeded in inducing him to send h to Hanworth. On her return he immediately sent her fathe as part of £2000 which he had promised to lend him, and fo he had refused any bond, saying that the Lady Jane should pledge. Whether he ever seriously thought of striking a between her and King Edward may be doubted. It has been tured that, having no male children of his own, he had inter marry her to Lord Hertford, son of his brother, Duke of Sc the protector. This conjecture derives plausibility from t that at the time when he evinced such anxiety about her m he had become reconciled to his brother, with whom, from

¹ Haynes's State Papers, p. 78.

power, he had been at variance. It is, besides, certain, from a written by her father to the Duke of Somerset, that an alliance en projected between her and the Earl of Hertford. "For the ge of your grace's son to be had with my daughter Jane." e cautiously to the duke, as if leaving an opening for a change pose, should the chapter of accidents offer a more splendid as a match with her royal cousin Edward, "I think it not be written, but I shall at all times avouch my saying." 1 Or miral, in the event of his being thwarted in his hope of obtainhand of the Princess Elizabeth, may have contemplated g Lady Jane his own wife. She was indeed his junior by years; but as he regarded the disparity of years between him limbeth as no obstacle to his union with her, there is no reason ak that, though Lady Jane was three or four years younger dirabeth, he would have considered this difference as an insus impediment to his wedding her, had the step been recomd by ambitious or political considerations. The admiral's in the uncommon interest he took as to the marriage of this t is impossible now to determine with certainty. "The proconclusion," says Nicolas, "is that he was merely anxious to the power of disposing of her, when she became of a marriagee, in such a manner as would best advance his views or support erest, without at any time being determined whether he should ber, or whether she should become the wife of his nephew, ome other nobleman on whom he could depend. Such, in all lity, were the speculations relative to this amiable girl in her ood, and who, even at that early period of her life, seemed desto be the victim of ambition. At no period of our history," this writer, " was the detestable disposition to render every ction subservient to political purposes, so much the prevailing as in the reigns of the Tudors; the ties of friendship or of ed were seldom suffered to interfere when opposed to the proof advancement; self-interest superseded every other considera-

Howard's Lady Jane Grey and her Times, p. 161.

house, living for the most part at the fan she pursued with increasing assiduity her aged by her amiable tutor, Aylmer, for reverence and affection. It is somewhat and obedient a child should have been trea her parents. Acting apparently on the u children should become perfect in everythi harshly chide, threaten, or punish her, if o her manner of speaking, or keeping silence, ing, eating or drinking, sewing, playing or dancing, though she did all in her power to ever, to be observed that this injudicious se it proceeded more from an anxiety to see her than from a defect in parental tenderne deemed necessary in the education of the Howard, "was the most frequent engine of citizens, for improving their children; and school, the youth of both sexes were kept in love. Daughters in particular, even in won being obliged to stand at the cupboard-side d permitted to have a cushion to kneel on; a unusual, even before company, for ladies of their grown-up danghton



mer at her lessons were, from his affectionate manner of g her, explaining to her difficulties, correcting her mistakes, traging her to proceed, associated with enjoyment, and when m him she would often fall a-weeping. This gentleness of ptor, so favourably contrasted with the harshness of her man, as she acknowledges, one reason of the great delight in learning. "And thus," says she, "my book hath been so pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more and more pleasure, spect of it all other pleasures in very deed be but trifles also unto me."

intimate knowledge of the Greek language, and her ardent the Grecian orators and philosophers, a high testimony is an eminently qualified judge, Roger Ascham. This celean visited her in the summer of 1550, at her father's seat ate, when on his way to London to attend Sir Richard on his embassy to Charles V. She was then about the year of her age. On his arrival, her father and mother, he ladies and gentlemen of the household, were hunting in while the fair scholar was in her own apartment, engaged r Plato's Phadon in the original Greek, with as much dese Ascham's illustration, as the gentlemen of that day felt the merry tales of Boccaccio. Astonished at this devotion after saluting her, he inquired why she had not gone with ts and the rest of the family to the park, to enjoy the amusethe chase. "I wisse," she replied with a smile, "all their he park is but a shadow to the pleasure I find in Plato. Alas! they never felt what true pleasure means." "And how came am," asked Ascham, still more astonished that a lady of her ld be so enchanted both with the language and philosophy to this deep knowledge of pleasure? and what did chiefly into it, since not only few women, but even very few men, sined thereunto " "I will tell you," she answered, "and a truth, which, perchance, you will marvel at." She then

communion with Demosthenes and Pla from her beloved preceptor, who never or gave her an unkind look.1 This wa had with her; but one or two letters them, and, at his urgent request, she pr in Greek, provided he would first send h the emperor's court.2 In his corresponde he lavished upon her the highest encom his much-respected friend, John Sturmu academy of Strasburg, had translated s and Demosthenes into Latin, and intende vised him to dedicate the volume to Lady her skill in the Greek language, and bee learned men, and particularly of himself. Mildred Cook, Sir William Cecil's wife, Greek almost with equal facility as English women in England; but he gave Lady Jar ing on her the eulogium, "that however fortune and royal extraction, this bore n plishments of her mind, adorned with the eloquence of Demosthenes." 3

ents, she longed to return to her or

A testimony not less flattering to her

y the Marquis of Dorset,' and who resided for some time in the is a family, thus writes concerning her, in a letter to Conrad n, dated [Bradgate] May 29, 1551:—"In truth I do not think mong all the English nobility for many ages past, there has a single individual, who, to the highest excellencies of talent dgment, has united so much diligence and assiduity in the culm of every liberal pursuit. For she is not only conversant with are polite accomplishments, and with ordinary acquirements, also so exercised herself in the practice of speaking and g with propriety, both in Greek and Latin, that it is incredible r she has advanced already, and to what perfection she will so in a few years; for I well know that she will complete what a begun, unless, perhaps, she be diverted from her pursuits by alamity of the times;" an anticipation which, unhappily, at ant period was painfully realized.

in her amiable character, her fervent piety, the purity of her and her high rank, Lady Jane became early an object of pecuterest to the friends of the Reformation, both in this country is the Continent. Martin Bucer, who had been invited to ad by Edward VI., and the Lord protector, at the recomtion of Archbishop Cranmer, and appointed professor of disin the university of Cambridge, took a friendly interest in her ctual, religious, and moral training. Lamenting the death of debrated divine, of whom, says she, "I was bereaved," she wiedges her obligations to him, commending him as "that most d man and holy father, who unweariedly did not cease, day ight, and to the utmost of his ability, to supply me with all

per, in a letter to Bullinger, dated London, March 27, 1550, says, "John ab a also well, and as I hear very diligent in his studies. He has been munificial benourably presented by the Marquis of Dorset with a yearly stipend of newer." This he had in addition to his fellowship.—Zurich Letters, first series, 550. He was recalled to Switzerland "by a letter from his family," and, on an, resigned his fellowship in St. John's College, Oxford.—Ibid., pp. 326, 396. d in 1550, and his descendants took the name of Ulmer.—Ibid., second series, p. 350.

rick Letters, first series, pp. 432, 433.

necessary instructions and directions for my conduct in who, by his excellent advice, promoted and encouraged m and advancement in all virtue, godliness, and learning."

Among the foreign reformed divines attracted by her talents and excellent character, Henry Bullinger, one of the of the reformed church of Zurich, in Switzerland, a man of learning, wisdom, benevolence, and piety, is entitled to spec He had received from his young friend, John ab Ulmis, commendations of her laudable diligence and unusual acc in letters at her age, united with fervent piety and arden to the reformed cause. At the incitation, in a great measure worthy youth, he sent her occasionally such small religiou as might tend to confirm her piety and faith in God's Word menced an epistolary correspondence with her exceedingly to her, and also very pleasing to himself. Ab Ulmis, in him, dated Oxford, December 31, 1550, says, "If you intend any book to the Earl of Warwick, send it together with t me. I hope you will send a copy to the daugh marquis, and, take my word for it, you will never repent ing done so. Let this be the form of the address :- 'To i daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, &c.,' and you will elici a most learned and courteous letter. She has herself ren Greek a good part of that book, On Marriage, which I

¹ Zurich Letters, first series, pp. 4-7.

² Henry Bullinger, who was born at Bremgarten, near Zurich, Swi July 18, 1504, studied at the university of Cologne, into which he ente and connected himself with the Reformers in the course of the year 15 death of Zuingle, in the close of the year 1531, he was chosen to fill his pastor of the reformed church of Zurich. Though he had never been in was well known to the friends of the Reformation in this country, from hospitality towards the English Reformers, consisting of nobles, clergy scholars, who had fled their native country to escape persecution in Henry VIII, when the six articles were rigorously enforced, and in Q reign. He corresponded with the leading English Reformers, to whom he use by his judicious counsels. He is styled by Bishop Jewel oraculum He died Sept. 17, 1575, in the seventy-first year of his age.—Strype's Mem. part ii., p. 144. Zurich Letters, second series, vol. i., p. 156. Adami Vite Theologorum.

in, and presented it to her father on the last day of Decema New-year's gift."

ate of Bullinger's first letter to Lady Jane, written in Latin, to have been in the early part of the year 1551, when she y about the fifteenth year of her age; and, like his other o her, all of which are now lost, it chiefly consisted of counopics suited to her age, sex, and rank in life, as on the best of prosecuting her studies, and on the cultivation of the a character; and of encouragements to perseverance in the path of religion and virtue upon which she had entered. ring herself highly honoured with this mark of attention from er whom she had been taught to venerate for his personal ad learning, she speedily sent him a reply in Latin, written adgate, July 12, 1551. The style is remarkably elegant for her years, and the whole strain bespeaks a mind smitten eager desire to excel in every liberal accomplishment, and y in Christian knowledge and godliness. Our limits will adof a few extracts. "I have received," says she, "from you reighty and eloquent epistle, which was, indeed, very gratifye, not only because, to the neglect of more important engageou have condescended to write from so distant a country, and declining age to me, who am unworthy of the correspondence tinguished a personage, but also because your writings are character, as that they contain not mere ordinary topics ement, but pious and divine thoughts for instruction, admoni-I counsel, on such points especially as are suited to my age and the dignity of my family. From that little of pure and unsophisticated religion which you lately sent ther and myself, I gather daily, as out of a most beautiful the sweetest flowers. My father, also, as far as his weighty sents permit, is diligently occupied in the perusal of it

a Letters, first series, p. 427.

was a treatise on Christian Perfection, printed in 1551, and dedicated to

Her lather, who was hopeful, in his anxireligious improvement, that she would deri the wise and pious counsels of Bullinger, w maintain a correspondence, so delightful t letter to Bullinger, dated December 21, 155 his exceeding courtesy in dedicating to him "I acknowledge myself also to be much daughter's account, for having always exhe letters to a true faith in Christ, the study of manners, and innocence of life, and I earn tinue these exhortations as frequently as po linger's correspondents in England, who we gifted young lady, excited him to persever epistolary communications, her ardent mind ledge and Christian excellence. "You ca them, in a letter to him, dated December 28. obligation upon his grace than by continuin already) to impart godly instruction to his c she is so brought up that there is the great ment in godliness, yet your exhortations af and at the same time have their due we

¹ Zurich Letters, first series, pp. 4-7.

² This is the last part of Rullinger's

g from a stranger, or from so eminent a person as your-

aly of theology engaged no inconsiderable share of her atnd Bullinger's Decades was one of the chief works on this
hich she read and studied. "I can bear testimony," says
his, an English Reformer, in a letter to Bullinger, after her
hich, if not very abundant, is that of an eye-witness, that
family of the Greys, and Jane especially, derived incredible
om your writings. She, indeed, had not only diligently
but also committed to memory, almost all the heads of your
ode."

rong interest taken in Lady Jane by the friends of the ion, both at home and abroad, was increased, from reports an to be circulated, that she was to become the consort of II., an event thought by many, from the similarity of their ositions, talents, and from their near relationship, not imand greatly desired by the reforming party, as promising important advantages to the reformed cause, to which, from e of education, she was known to be extremely devoted. abject one of the Reformers thus writes :- "A report has and has begun to be talked of by persons of consequence, most noble virgin is to be betrothed and given in marriage ig's majesty. O, if that event should take place, how happy the union, and how beneficial to the church! But the great and good God will preside in this matter, who alone prosper, and cares for, and remembers, and foresees and of all things according to his good pleasure." 3 Katharine excellent judge of the kind of wife suitable to such a prince rd, was favourable to this talked of union; and Lady Jane Micro well worthy of an earthly crown. But the Reformers, ing of her as the future protectress of the Protestant faith,

Letters, first series, p. 280.

* Ibid., p. 305.

listened to the proposal of wedding a As observed before, Lady Jane's fat folk on the 11th of October, 1551, Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Charle the sweating-sickness, without issue, a coln's palace, in July preceding.1 On Earl of Warwick, to whom she afterwar was created Duke of Northumberland. time in the metropolis with her father own mansion in Suffolk Place. But th at court, she still continued, under the to prosecute with avidity her literary str Kind and affectionate as was Aylmer to encourage her to persevere, by duly and success, he did not spoil her by injud instructions were accompanied with the humble temper of mind, and hence, tho courted her friendship or the friendship ing to the custom of those times when pay her homage with a somewhat extrav:

she was preserved by the admonitions standing her high scholarship and acco

of pedantry, so great a blo

ward sanctity, the renewal of the soul into the Divine stituted the most attractive and durable beauty, enforcing from the exhortation of the apostle Peter to Christian Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning of a hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; so the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corrent the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in a God of great price." Nor did he neglect to set before ample of the Princess Elizabeth, of whom, regarding her of Christian propriety in the article of dress, he says in the for Faithful Subjects—"I am sure that her maidenly lich she used in King Edward's time, made the noblemen's



Costly attite, time of Edward Vi-

daughters ashamed to be dressed and painted like peaag more moved with her most virtuous example, than at ever Paul or Peter wrote touching that matter." So

Her plainness of dress, he adds, was especially noticed on of the visit of the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, Mary of Lorraine, to Edward VL Elizabeth afterwards, however, as we shall see in her Life, where for finery of dress to the highest pitch of extravagance. as to what embellishment and adornm young women professing godliness. I you may bring forward the example of Elizabeth, who goes clad in every respec and yet no one is induced by the exa and in so much gospel light to lay aside gold, jewels, and braidings of the hair.

against these things, but yet no one am

The inculcations of her tutor had the
who was always a very docile scholar.
dress presented to her by the Princess I
were a shame to follow my Lady Mar,
and leave my Lady Elizabeth, who foll
doubtless well to admonish young ladie
in everything else; but we are not quit
honest old Latimer, whose thundering
dress in his day are still so edifying to
not have carried the principle of negatito a rather unnecessary extent, and to

In the summer of 1552, when Lady cousin, the Princess Mary, at her mansi

attempt been made to enforce it, would

of raising a female rebellion.

ile she was accompanying Lady Anne Wharton in a walk, vitation of that lady, Lady Anne, on their passing by the hapel of the place, made a low courtesy in honour of the ich, according to custom, was suspended, enclosed in a the altar. Lady Jane, who, educated in Protestantism, r been accustomed to practise this species of idolatry, and ring at the time of the object to which the lady's homage asked her whether the Princess Mary was in the chapel. aid Lady Wharton, "but I make obeisance to Him who all." "Why," replied Lady Jane, "how can that which the ade be He who made us all ?" This ingenious sarcasm, g so strongly of heresy, being reported to the Princess Mary, ncess, saturated with Popish bigotry, was shocked at her profaneness, and from that moment became her personal "She did never love her after," says Foxe, who has preais anecdote, "as credibly reported, but esteemed her as the nat profession ;" and how she esteemed them, we may leave cruelties of her reign to tell. Lady Jane, therefore, would little to hope for from her royal cousin in after times, even he had not, by being dragged by the ambition of her relato the usurpation of the crown, incurred the vengeance of en and unmitigable princess.

g other eminent continental Protestant divines who correwith Lady Jane, was Conrad Pellican, professor of theology new in the university of Zurich. He was led into this cornce by John ab Ulmis, who, finding, while resident in the hat she was bent upon learning Hebrew, was anxious, from and fraternal feelings, to secure for her the assistance and gement of Pellican in the study of that language. "I am ld in writing to you," says ab Ulmis, in a letter to him," "by

aly, apparently, was the daughter of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and second sense, first Lord Wharton. She was probably one of the attendants of the

Acts and Monuments, vol. viii., p. 700. [Bradgate] May 29, 1551.

acquiring that language, and cannot she may pursue with credit and Bullinger upon this subject; but it willing to transfer the office to you, whelmed with affairs of greater impo is aware of your perfect knowledge you are willing to oblige a powerfu honour to yourself, you will by no m to his daughter. . . . I prom pledge myself, that I will bear all th this deed, or if the marquis's daughter ledge your courtesy. Write, therefo possible, in which you will briefly po the sacred language, and then honou your Latin translation of the Jewis understand the extent of her attains wrote to Bullinger."1

Yielding to the solicitations of ab U her, replete with judicious counsels as cuting her studies in general, and paras well as full of pious exhortations. her by ab Ulmis, and the gratification her parents at Pollice great veneration that is both entertained and expressed y the whole of the duke's household. Your reputation ry great, as is the commendation of your well-spent life, membrance of your writings. I could wish you, therefore," my very dear father in Christ, to continue to assist and he studies of the daughter of a most valued nobleman, and he has deserved so much at my hands; and as you find prepared, and making a steady progress, do not cease to that she may daily more and more excel herself in learning the cultivation of her mind." In token of her gratitude in, she wrote him an answer in Latin, not now extant, received June 19, 1552, and characterizes as "written with elegance and learning."

he same time Lady Jane, having before received a second a Bullinger, sent him an answer in Latin, written with her ance of diction, and breathing the fervent, unaffected piety stic of all her writings.²

all token of her gratitude for Bullinger's kindness to her, pair of gloves to his wife, through their common friend, Ilmis, and would have sent her at the same time a gold not ab Ulmis, for reasons of which he does not inform us, a receive it. This we learn from one of his letters to Bul-The gloves," says he, "which the daughter of the duke is me to be sent over yonder to your wife, cannot conveniforwarded before the fair. She wished also to send her a gold ring, but I did not receive it, for certain reasons which too long to enumerate in this letter."

ird letter to Bullinger, though without date, appears to a written in the first half of the year 1553, and was a reply r letter she had received from him. "I entertain the hope,"

Letters, first series, pp. 451, 452.

\$57. The letter is dated Oxford, August 16, 1552.

a latter in Zurick Letters, first series, pp. 7, 8. It is without date. The ies, "Bradgate, July 7, 1552."

took place about the end of May or the

CHAPTER

FROM HER MARRIAGE WITH LORD GUIL
PRISONMENT IN THE

ME now enter upon the tragical part may be said to commence with her man Edward was now in a very precarious s had been affected with measles and small of the year 1553 he caught a severe cole gravated by injudicious treatment, and a symptoms of consumption, creating greatesult. At this conjuncture the Duke ambition was either unsatisfied with the the fall of Protector Somerset, he had ac sudden reverse of fortune, in the event awakened, conceived the double plan, firs alliance between Lady Jane, who was a fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudlay "experience of the said of the said

ig. The nuptials of the youthful pair were celebrated about d of May or the beginning of June, at Durham House, in the l, the town mansion of Northumberland, with much pomp and



Durham House, from the River, time of Charles L.

er. On that occasion King Edward, who was greatly pleased to marriage, ordered much rich dress and jewels to be deout of his own wardrobe to the Duchesses of Suffolk and mberland, to the Marchioness of Northampton, to Lady Jane and to Lord Guildford Dudley, for wedding apparel.¹

humberland's other project, to which this was only subordiald not be carried into execution with equal ease. Though ans had the honour to be of the blood royal, and to have her in the list of the heirs to the throne, others in the meantime for claims. This will be seen by attending to the state of the present in existence in regard to the succession. In the nent which met January 14, 1544, in the thirty-fifth year of

warticles were not new, but the property of the late Duke and Duchess of

the reign of Henry VIII., an act was passed by the will monarch, restoring the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the of succession, of which they had been deprived by precedi liamentary statutes. It was enacted that, provided his m only son and nearest heir, Edward, Prince of Wales, sho without lawful issue, and provided his majesty himself sho without issue by his "most entirely beloved wife, Queen Katl Parr, or any other wife he might afterwards marry, which male or female, were to be next in the order of succession, the rial crown should descend to his eldest daughter, the Princess and her legitimate offspring, on such conditions as he might by his letters-patent or by his last will; and in the event dying without "heirs of her own body lawfully begotten," th crown should, on like conditions, descend to his daughter, the cess Elizabeth, and her legitimate children; failing which majesty was invested with full power to dispose of the crown pleased by his letters-patent, or by his last will.1 Henry's la dated December 30, 1546, in the thirty-eight year of his reis responded with the provisions of this settlement, but wit important additions, which the act of Parliament just now r to authorized him to make, 1st, that the Princesses Mar Elizabeth should inherit the crown, only upon condition of not marrying without the consent of the majority at least privy councillors and others appointed by him for the gover of Prince Edward, or of the majority of such of them as be then alive; and, 2dly, that next to the Princess Elizabet provided she should die without lawful issue, the royal should descend to the heirs of the body of Lady Frances Br Duchess of Suffolk (the mother of Lady Jane), eldest daug Henry's youngest sister, Mary, by her second husband,2 (Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; failing which, to the lawful cl

¹ This act of Parliament is printed in Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VI 503-506.

² To her first husband, Louis XII., King of France, she had no children.

Eleanor, the second daughter of the same sister, and the Jenry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; failing which, "to lawful heirs." It is observable that, according to this langhters of Henry's youngest sister could not themselves rited the crown, but only their legitimate children, a cirwhich, perhaps, may be explained on the supposition ry's children being so much younger than these ladies, it een contemplated that the latter would survive the former. till more worthy of observation, as illustrating the caprice narch, that in these deeds of settlement, his eldest sister, queen of James IV. of Scotland,2 mother of James V., onarch, and consequently grandmother of Mary Queen of contrary to the general rules of succession, overlooked to for the descendants of the youngest sister.3 Such was will is printed in Fuller's Church History, in Heylin's History of the and in Rymer's Fædera.

e death of James IV. she married Archibald Louglas, seventh Earl of bons she had the Lady Margaret Douglas, who married Matthew Stewart, if Lennox, by whom she had Henry Lord Darnley, the future husband of of Scots. Next to Mary and Elizabeth, the daughters of Henry VIII., af Scots was according to the general rules of succession (though not

Heary's will), next heir to the throne of England.

me when Henry made his will he was greatly irritated against Scotland, whall been at war for more than two years, in consequence of the Regent James Earl of Arran, having violated a treaty of pacification between the and a matrimonial contract between Henry's son and heir, Prince Ede infant Mary Queen of Scots, whose father, James V., died at Falkland or 14th of December, five or six days after her birth. The treaty was the Scottish Parliament, on the 8th of June, 1543, concluded at Greenlet of July, and ratified by the Regent of Scotland on the 25th of August. Beaton and the French faction, who contemplated the union of the infant be Dauphin of France, as promising security to the old religion in Scotsthrow of which they dreaded, should the treaty with England be carried roosed that treaty to the uttermost, and prevailed with the regent, a man ad vacillating character, to break it, which he did within nine days of his al it in the most solemn manner.-Knox's History of the Reformation in od. Soc. edit., vol. i., pp. 101-110, 182. The antipathy thus created in the by against the Scotch, and increased by protracted hostilities, combined, d with abouted affection from his sister Margaret, Queen-Dowager of cause of her understood preference of the French to the English alliance, for his setting mide her and her issue in the settlement of the succession

the state of the law as to the succession to the throne death of Henry VIII.; and in the first year of the reign of VI., it was not only solemnly ratified by Parliament, but t ties of treason were denounced against any of the heirs of the who should usurp or claim it otherwise than in conformity provisions of that settlement.

Thus it is evident that, as the law then stood, the right the Princess Mary and of the Princess Elizabeth to the thi prior to that of Lady Jane. It is equally manifest that the of Northumberland to effect Jane's succession to the throne ance of the claims of these princesses, was a hazardous as difficult enterprise-an enterprise which, if unsuccessful, w volve himself, the young lady, and all her supporters in th ties of high treason. But blinded by ambition, he though success, not of failure. His argument for setting aside t cesses Mary and Elizabeth was, that both these princesses l declared illegitimate and incapable of inheriting the crown, liamentary statutes in the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth the reign of Henry VIII., and that though by a subseque liamentary statute-that above quoted, enacted in the thi year of the reign of that monarch—they were placed next ward as heirs of the throne, they are described in that stat as his daughters, without any reference to the question of t timacy of their birth. But plausible as this reasoning migh to himself, it made little impression on others, who natur that, though the statute left the ban of illegitimacy, pro against them in former statutes, unrecalled, it secured to the crown, and until it was repealed by Parliament it was indis valid.

After Lady Jane's marriage, the health of Edward declini pidly as to afford little hope that he would long survive, N

In the proclamation of Lady Jane as queen, to be afterwards quoted, v no doubt, either written by or under the authority of Northumberland, the cisely the line of argumentation adopted.

aw that no time was to be lost in the execution of his le endeavoured, in the first place, to obtain from Edward tent, appointing Lady Jane heir to the crown of England, eirs male of her body, and to procure the subscriptions of councillors and other persons of influence to that docuaking advantage of the young monarch's well known stachment to the reformed cause, he represented to him r to which the Reformation would be exposed in the event cossion of the Princess Mary, from her determined adhere Popish Church, and the advantages it would derive from ion of Lady Jane, its enlightened and ardent supporter, to ign power. Edward showed some reluctance to pass over sister, Elizabeth, of whose attachment to the reformed faith no doubt; but Northumberland, arguing that the injus-I be too glaring were Mary to be set aside on the ground of when the same objection was equally applicable to the of Elizabeth, at last obtained Edward's consent.1 tly by promises and partly by threatenings, all the judges, ngle exception, and that a Protestant, Sir John Hales, one dges of the court of common pleas, and all the lords of the meil, with other persons of distinction, amounting to above d, signed the letters-patent, which are dated the 21st day 1553. Nothing more was done to give validity to the succession. In consequence of Edward's death, which took n after, namely, on the evening of Thursday, the 6th of the month, the letters-patent were confirmed neither by his testament, nor by act of Parliament, as was intended.2

Chrunicle, London edit., 1730, p. 311.

On the death of the young monarch, his sister, Lady Mar immediately to have succeeded to the imperial sceptre. claims were in the meantime set aside. The measures ad secure the succession of Lady Jane to the throne had, it been wholly concealed from her for some time. The first tion she received of them was from her mother-in-law, the of Northumberland, shortly before the death of Edward, as from a statement written by herself. "When it was pub ported," says she, "that there was no more hope of the ki as the Duchess of Northumberland had before promised that remain in the house with my mother, so she, having underst soon after from her husband, who was the first that told i did not wish me to leave my house, saying to me that if Go have willed to call the king to his mercy, of whose life ther longer any hope, it would be needful for me to go immediate Tower, I being made by his majesty heir of his realm."1 Bu announcement, so far from being elated, she rather felt p and unhappy. "Which words," says she, "being spoker thus unexpectedly, put me in great perturbation, and gre turbed my mind as yet, [and] soon after they oppressed n more."

On the evening of the 9th of July, when the Duke of N berland, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Arun Earl of Huntingdon, and the Earl of Pembroke, coming

sequence, could only rely upon the validity of the letters-patent, which had great seal upon the 21st of June."—Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen I by Editor, p. 4. The letters-patent for the limitation of the crown are

Appendix to that work, pp. 91-100.

¹ This is part of a letter written by Lady Jane, after her condemnation, Mary, printed in Pollini's Istoria Ecclesiastica Della Rivoluzion D'Inghilter The original is not now extant, and, as given by Pollini, the letter has no subscription, but its authenticity is generally admitted. It contains a minute detail of the circumstances connected with her assumption of royalty that the whole scheme originated entirely from the political motives of her and it is an appeal to the mercy of the sovereign. We quote from a trathis document, in Miss Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies pp. 272-279.

where she then was, announced to her the death of the d that she was the heir named by his majesty to succeed him, in a similar manner, and showed great reluctance to accept



Sion House,

rown, though it must be admitted that the motive disinclinto accept of it, appears rather to have been a modest diffifer own abilities, than a conviction that, by the laws of the n and natural right, it was the inheritance of the Princess "Which things," says she in her letter to Mary, "as soon as heard, with infinite grief of mind, how I was beside myself, d and troubled, I will leave it to those lords who were pretestify, who saw me overcome by sudden and unexpected it on the ground, weeping very bitterly; and then declaring my insufficiency, I greatly bewailed myself for the death of so prince, and at the same time turned myself to God, humbly and beseeching Him, that if what was given to me was and laufully mine, his Divine majesty would grant me such

in first this scene at Durham House. But in Jane's letter, just quoted, we is expressly named as the place. consistion was the result of after thoughts. grace and spirit that I might govern it to his glory and service, and to the advantage of this realm." This disinclination to accept the crown, it also seems, was increased from a sense of the danger to which she might be exposed should the country fail to support her assumption of the supreme authority; for, young as she was, from recent events she could not have been ignorant of the capriciousness of fortune, which might adorn her with a crown to-day, and make sport of her ruin to-morrow. "With what crown," said she, "does fortune present me? A crown which hath been violently and shamefully wrested from Katharine of Aragon; made more unfortunate by the punishment of Anne Boleyn, and others that wore it after her. And why, then, would you have me add my blood to theirs; and be the third victim from whom this fatal crown may be ravished, with the head that wears it! But in case it should not prove fatal unto me, and that all its vemon were consumed; if fortune should give me warranties of her constancy; should I be well advised to take upon me these thorns, which would lacerate though not kill me outright? My liberty is better than the chain you proffer me, with what precious stones soever it be adorned, or of what gold soever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And if you love me sincerely, and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and quiet fortune, though mean, than an exalted condition, exposed to the wind, and followed by some dismal fall."

In this reply Lady Jane reasoned wisely, and had she been left to her own determination she would have remained in a private sta-

¹ Heylin's History of the Reformation, London, 1661, p. 159. This author, in describing the interview which took place between the councillors and Lady Jane on this occasion, states at considerable length the whole argument pro and con. There is reason to think that he has himself constructed the speeches of the respective parties, as they cannot be traced to any earlier authority; but if he has not given the ipsisting verba, he has given the spirit of what was said on both sides, and, in particular, of what was said by Lady Jane. This is confirmed from her letter to Queen Mary, and from a passage in the Duke of Northumberland's speech to the lords of council, recorded in Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 6, "Who, by your and our enticement, is rather of force placed therein than by her own seeking and request."

ntented with the wealth and honours which by birth and were indisputably her own. But, besieged by the urgent es of Northumberland, and the expostulations of her father, h, it has been said, were added the tender and insinuating ions of her aspiring husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, on the brilliant prospect of a kingdom acted with the spell of ment, she yielded her own inclination, and the dictates of n judgment, to these combined influences brought to bear er mind. Another motive of great weight-a motive highly ble to the tenderness of her filial piety, and to her self-sacrilisinterestedness of spirit—was the apparent impossibility of se saving from destruction her father and her father-in-law, d carried matters so far, that in the event of her refusing the they would, on the accession of Mary, have incurred the vengeance of that princess. Her accepting the royal dignity, as this might be to herself and to her friends, should Mary supporters finally triumph, seemed to be the only course M adopt, by which, perchance, their safety might be secured. therefore, granting that it was criminal in her to usurp what ed to another, yet, taking all these circumstances into acand reflecting too on her early age, we are disposed more to er as the victim of ambition, than to condemn her for at alding to accept of the crown under the operation of influences cult to resist.

p Jane's consent having been thus extorted, preparations were o invest her with the government of the kingdom; and for three days appearances promised her a quiet succession. For some of the country Laiy Mary now was, gave decided indications of a purpose to a the claims of that princess, they were joined by few of the ty and gentry, who seemed rather disposed to throw the soft their influence on the side of Lady Jane, and it was configurated that this opposition would be speedily subdued. The bith of July, the chief officers and the guard were sworn at

Greenwich, to bear true and faithful allegiance to Jane as and as it had been the long-established practice for the so of England to take up their residence for a few days aft accession in the Tower of London, she was on the following ducted with great state to that fortress, between four t o'clock in the afternoon, attended by her father-in-law. numerous retinue of noblemen and noble ladies, the Du Suffolk, her mother, bearing up her train, and the Tower b firing a royal salute.1 On her passing through the city Tower, as Bishop Godwin remarks, no acclamations salut though vast crowds flocked around her, drawn rather, it see gratify their curiosity than to express their joy; and this, I was the first circumstance which encouraged Mary's friend regarded it as a favourable omen, to the resolution of makir attempt in her behalf when a proper occasion should offer. o'clock she was proclaimed Queen of England, with the formalities, by two heralds and a trumpet blowing, first at side, and then in Fleet Street. The proclamation 'explain grounds on which it was attempted to vindicate her title, re to Edward's death-bed settlement of the crown in her favor to set aside the superior claims of Mary and Elizabeth, four the act of Parliament relating to their right of succession, in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Henry VIII., t princesses are declared to be illegitimate, in conformity with Parliament passed in the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth v that monarch's reign, and never abrogated, ratifying the s annulling his marriage with Katharine of Aragon and his from Anne Boleyn, and bastardizing his children by the queens. The proclamation was heard by the assembled my in silence, without those demonstrations of popular joy usuall at the proclamation of a new sovereign; but no opposition

¹ Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. iii., part i., pp. 1-5.

² It is inserted in Burnet's History of the Reformation. In speaking of Eduit designates him "late King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the and on earth, the supreme head, under Christ, of the Church of England and

n was shown, save by a young man, the apprentice of a sho uttered certain expressions in favour of Mary's rightto the throne. The young man being apprehended, was at eight o'clock in the morning, set in the pillory, and had are nailed and cut off, at which infliction a trumpet was d a herald in a coat of arms read the offence of the culprit ce of one of the sheriffs of London. He was then again prison. This punishment was not only cruel but impolitic, by calculated to render the new government unpopular. The issued by the council that Jane should be proclaimed ut England, but these orders were executed only in London wighbourhood.

the lieutenants of the different counties, signed by herself, ably the composition of Northumberland, or of some of his amouncing her succession to the throne, vindicating her expressing her confidence that they would support her "in tral possession of this kingdom, and repel and resist the and untrue claim of the Lady Mary, bastard daughter to her the, Henry VIII., of famous memory." The originals of two etters, both addressed to the Marquis of Northampton, one to him as lieutenant of Surrey, and the other, which is addressed to him as lieutenant of the counties of Surrey, upton, Bedford, and Berks, are still extant.

time before the death of her brother Edward, the Princess hile resident at Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, had received an a to come and see her dying brother. But having been preapprised of the conspiracy formed to exclude her from the m, she suspected that the invitation was a mere stratagem numberland, as it really was, to get possession of her person own purposes; and therefore, instead of going to court to see ther, she set off from Hunsdon, to her manor of Kenninghall,

^{&#}x27;s dansle, p. 610.

S William Parr, brother of Katharine Parr.
Griginal Letters, first series, vol. ii., pp. 183-188.

in Norfolk, whence she very soon proceeded to her castle s lingham, in Suffolk. At Framlingham, on the 8th of J days after Edward's death, she received her first intelligen event, and naturally indignant at the attempts made to supp she was not supine in the assertion of her rights. She imp assumed the royal title. On the same day she wrote to Si Somersall and others, claiming the crown as her birthri commanding them to repair to her as their lawful sovereig manor of Kenninghall, whither she intended speedily to rett Framlingham, provided she found the nobility, gentry, an generally, favourable to her interest.2 On the following wrote to the council, expressing her surprise that no intin her brother's death had been conveyed to her, and claiming the as hers, equally by the laws of nature and the laws of the k In their answer the council inform her that their "soverei Queen Jane," was invested with the just title to the imperia "by their late sovereign lord's letters-patent, signed with hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence most part of the nobles, councillors, judges, with divers oth and sage personages assenting and subscribing to the same. also have the boldness to tell her, what must have been p painful to her feelings, that in consequence of the divorce between her mother, Katharine of Aragon, and her father VIII .- a divorce demanded "by the everlasting laws of C also by ecclesiastical laws," sanctioned by the judgment of " part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom. firmed by sundry acts of Parliament remaining yet in the she was justly made illegitimate, and uninheritable to the cr perial." And, in conclusion, they warn her of her danger she, "under any pretence whatsoever, vex and molest any sovereign lady Queen Jane's subjects from their true faith a

¹ Baker's Chronicle, pp. 311, 314.

² Howard's Lady Jane Grey and her Times, p. 232.

lue unto her grace." The council's letter is dated "From er of London, 9th July, 1553."

e council's caution in the close of their letter Lady Mary attention. Setting them at defiance, she unremittingly red, and with great success, in asserting her right to the Her right was indeed so manifest, not simply because she a appointed heir, next to her brother, by the will of her father Parliament, but because she was the eldest daughter of VIII, and the transference of the royal power from a to his second cousin, in preference to his sister, was so unnabitrary, and unjust, that her claims powerfully recommended ves to men's natural sense of justice. Bright an ornament Lady Jane to the Protestants, the great body of that party d her elevation as a mere political intrigue of Northumberthe aggrandizement of his family; and they supported Mary, they knew that she was a bigoted Romanist, so effectively, them she was mainly indebted for being placed securely on me. The two great counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, though y professing, or friendly to the reformed religion, enlisted wes in her cause. The inhabitants of the county of Suffolk, standing their apprehensions of danger to the Reformation r accession, were not kept back on that account from acknowher as their queen; and when, to allay the fears they exwhile tendering their allegiance to her, she pledged herself no alteration in the laws of the late sovereign with respect ion," they were prepared, in the ardour of their loyalty, to s last drop of their blood on her behalf. Many of the chief and gentry tendered their homage to her as their legitimate

shell's Carmicles, London edit., 1808, vol. iii., pp. 1066, 1067.

is engagement Mary, alas! proved unfaithful, as soon as she got secure posfise throne, and there is reason to think that she never intended to fulfil it.

2 Enfolkshire people afterwards reminded her of it, she replied, "Forsomuch
ing but members, desire to rule your head, ye shall one day well perceive that
must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same."—Foxe's Acts
ments, vol. vi., p. 387.



receion and assistance to mis prompt than usual in commun of the new sovereign. Sir Ph the Bishop of Norwich, who commissioners for mediating a King of France, were now at I these commissioners letters we 8th and 9th of July, conveying king's death, and requiring th the event, not doubting that he between the two crowns, and to wanting on their part to mainta the despatch. A total silence is a proof of the suspicions entertai feelings of Charles. Soon after Shelley, was despatched to Bru to the commissioners, a letter other from her to the emperor. 11th July, in which they style ? the commissioners to communic King Edward's death; the acces pointment of Sir Philip Hoby a ror's court; the willingness of knight and the atl

of the death of her cousin, Edward VI., and of her sucthe crown, desiring the continuance of the same good ung between him and herself which had been maintained im and her predecessor. None of these letters, as we wards see, were delivered to the emperor.

not until the 16th of July that the English commisited upon Charles, and officially conveyed to him the inof King Edward's death, assuring him, at the same time, iness of the lords of council, at all times, to maintain the ch had always existed between the realm of England and or's dominions. But not having as yet received official n of Jane's assumption of royal authority, they made no stion to him on that subject. Charles, in reply, expressed at hearing of the death of the young king, on whom he d the highest eulogiums. "And touching," said he, "the ch hath been betwixt me and my late good brother, our and subjects, as I have always had good-will to the observe same, according to such treaties as were betwixt us; so rstanding by you, my lords of the council's good inclinaaind to entertain and observe this amity for correspondth now have and shall have like good-will to keep and he same, and I thank them for making me to understand will herein." 2

however, learned from other sources the state of affairs d, the emperor was greatly dissatisfied at the innovation er of the succession, not simply on political grounds, but sear consanguinity between himself and Mary, who was his the mother's side. He accordingly, soon after, summoned

Mem. Eccl., vol. iii., part i., pp. 5-14 -Howard's Lady Jane Grey and p. 245-252.

tter of the commissioners to the council, dated 17th July, in Howard's brey and her Times, p. 260.

ne of Aragon, Mary's mother, was the sister of Joanna, the mother of



from satisfied with what Edwa to be illegitimate, and in chang father. He reminded them the Queen of Scotland, and wife of tl of his cousin Mary and her sis than those of Lady Jane Grey, t eldest sister of Henry VIII., whi of the youngest sister of that mo audience to Mr. Shelley, until he gave them to understand that h capacity from England but the acc Thus Mr. Shelley never had an o the letters with which he was in ever an opportunity of officially c the instructions brought to them by Shelley.1 'Intelligence of the ing at Brussels, Shelley returned letter from the three commissione Mary's lords of council, tendering had changed with the tide-an pleasure, to which they should co

¹ These facts are contained in a letter of one of the *Harleian MSS*.—See Nicolas's Stryne, who it would assess the contained in the stryne who it would assess the contained in the contained

At London the eloquence of the pulpit was exerted, but with little cess, in vindicating Jane's title and authority. On Sabbath, the of July, Ridley, Bishop of London, in a sermon preached at St. als Cross, by order of the council, congratulated his auditors on



Diffee menching at St. Paul's Cross.

ar accession, and expatiated on the calamities into which the stim would have been plunged by the certain overthrow of the termed religion, so happily established under King Edward, had aly Mary succeeded to the throne—a sermon for which he was herwards burnt at the stake. The following Sabbath, July 16th, it. Rogers, the learned reader of that cathedral, who officiated in a same place, was more cautious than Ridley, preaching only upon he people of the day; but this availed him nothing, for he was the last victim committed to the flames during the Marian persecution.

A crown, dazzling as it is with its diadems of glory, is often lined with thorns, and the brief period of Lady Jane's possession of the

Stave's Annals, p. 611 .- Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. iii., part i., p. 5.

imperial dignity was, perhaps, the least happy portion of he ence. Besides proving a source of constant anxiety, it becan her refusal-for reasons of state policy, and, perhaps, also newly excited ambition in her mind-to make her husband b occasion of disagreement between her and Guildford, who has into his head against her by his own mother. In giving an of what took place after she had been conducted to the Tothus speaks on this subject: Whilst "I was reasoning o things with my husband, he assented that if he were to b king, he would be made so by me, by act of Parliament. Bu wards, I sent for the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and them, that if the crown belonged to me, I should be content my husband a duke, but would never consent to make him Which resolution of mine gave his mother (this my opinio related to her) great cause for anger and disdain, so that sl very angry with me and greatly displeased, persuaded her to sleep with me any longer, as he was wont to do, affirming moreover, that he did not wish in any wise to be a duke, but So that I was constrained to send to him the Earls of Arun Pembroke, otherwise, I knew that the next morning he wou gone to Sion, where his mother now was, and she would have the flame of his resentment."1 The fact, too, that she believ during the few days she was queen, two attempts had bee upon her life, is an additional proof of the unhappy state mind in the situation in which she was now placed. "Ik certain," says she, "that twice during this time poison wa to me, first in the house of the Duchess of Northumberla afterwards here in the Tower, as I have the best and most testimony."2 Whether this, her affirmation, is well founded cannot now be positively determined. The probability is the not, and that her indisposition, caused by the upbraiding

² Ibid., vol. iii., p. 279. She adds, "Besides, since that time all my hair off."

¹ Letter of Lady Jane, after her condemnation, to Queen Mary, in Mis Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol. iii., pp. 271-279.

w, and by the irritation of Guildford at her refusing to with the regal power, led her groundlessly to imagine ad given her poison. But the suspicion which haunted int those nearest and dearest to her were plotting to take to, must have rendered her truly miserable.

rmerly been noticed that the counties of Norfolk and declared in favour of Mary. As early as the 12th of was brought to the council that the inhabitants of these re rising in arms for her support. To quell this opposidetermined to despatch a strong body of troops with all ed. Northumberland, who seems from the first to have strong suspicions of the fidelity of the Londoners, and e of the councillors, forseeing that his presence would more important in the city than in the proposed expeded to intrust the Duke of Suffolk with the command s; but Jane, alarmed for the safety of her father, with ht the whole council that he might remain in her society. rland, accordingly, constrained to yield to the tenderness piety, took the command himself.1 On the 13th of July out of London with an army of 6,000; but he was much in passing through Shoreditch, to observe that among that collected to see their march, not a single individual a success. "The people press to see us," said he to Lord not one of them saith God speed you."2 His troops ards increased to 8,000 foot, and 2,000 horse. This body, as altogether insufficient to enable him to cope with es, which, on his reaching Edmond's-Bury, he had the n to find amounted to at least double that number; and ly wrote to the council, urgently requesting reinforceth the council were in no hurry to send.

le, the spirit of disaffection to Jane began to work among bers of council, from reports they had received that the of the people were in favour of Mary, that many of the

we's Annals, p. 611.

2 Ibid., p. 611.

nobility who were at liberty were her zealous supporters, and the prospect of Northumberland's success was extremely do Impatient to desert a sinking cause, the well affected towards among them, on receiving Northumberland's letters import additional forces, quitted the Tower, where, in fact, they were manner prisoners, avowedly to raise new recruits with all perhaste, but in reality to shake off his tyranny, and concert merfor effecting the succession of the Princess Mary. At a meet such members of council and others of the nobility as favoured held on the 19th of May, at Baynard's Castle, at that time the dence of the Earl of Pembroke, it was unanimously agreed to ack



Baynard's Castle.

ledge her as their rightful sovereign. The mayor and alderme London were sent for, and the whole assembly proceeded to Ch side, where they proclaimed her Queen of England, by four trum

¹ Baynard's Castle was situated on the banks of the Thames, and was found Baynard, a follower of William the Conqueror. After passing through various hit was repaired, or rather rebuilt, in 1501, by Henry VII., who frequently lodged In 1666 it was destroyed in the great fire of London. A fragment of the buildin corporated with a coal wharf, marks its exact site, near the west extremity of Ti Street.

ee heralds at arms, in presence of an immense concourse s, whose enthusiastic acclamations formed a striking concold indifference betrayed by the crowd at the procla-Lady Jane. They immediately after went to St. Paul's there was sung Te Deum laudamus, with songs and the ing. An eye-witness thus describes the scene presented ropolis on that occasion: "Great was the triumph here for my time I never saw the like, and by the report of like was never seen. The number of caps that were at the proclamation was not to be told. The Earl of hrew away his cap full of angelles. I saw myself, money out at windows for joy. The bonfires were without ad what with shouting and crying of the people, and bells, there could no one man hear almost what another es banqueting and skipping the streets for joy."2 Mary proclaimed with acclamation throughout England. The of the equity of her claim to the throne was the sole enthusiastic loyalty of the Protestants. As to the fanaa of all classes, the aristocracy, the gentry, the priests, b, another consideration gave a stimulus to their extravastrations of joy-the prospect of seeing the tables turned e gospellers," as they called the Reformers, whom, in their they threatened with flames, hanging and drowning.3 was the Duke of Suffolk informed of what had taken earwide, than he came out of the Tower, saying he was an; and attended by a few of his men, whom he comleave their weapons behind them, he proclaimed Mary wer Hill; after which he immediately entered London. arland, whose army was melting away, and who discovered where the general feeling strongly inclined to Mary, upon he same intelligence, hopeless of success, left Bury for

A densit, p. 612.—Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. iii., part i., pp. 20, 21.
In Howard's Lady Jane Grey and her Times, pp. 269, 270.
Letters, first series, pp. 365-374.



tended loyalty availed him nothin he was brought a prisoner to the to it was treated with unbounded hated him ever since he had shed to set, and rejoiced in his fall, as the and cruelty.¹

Lady Jane was now to reap the and her father's ambition. This s made known to her by her father, proclaimed in the city, entered the told her that she behoved to put of to a private station. At this annot her danger, she was not depressed. would more willingly put them off last she would never have done b mother.2 No sooner was Mary pro by her council to the Tower, requiri and orders were issued that Jane father and mother, should be made s being informed of this she summon and in her interview with Guildfor exhibiting that magnanimity of mi sex under great calamities she set 1 er last interview with him, is well delineated by Rowe, in his Traply of Lady Jane Grey.1

"Guildford.—Thou stand'st unmov'd;
Calm temper sits upon thy beauteous brow;
Thy eyes, that flow'd so fast for Edward's loss,
Gase unconcern'd upon the ruin round thee,
As if thou hadst resolv'd to brave thy fate,
And triumph in the midst of desolation.

Lady Jane.—And dost thou think, my Guildford, I can see
My father, mother, and ev'n thee, my husband,
Torn from my side, without a pang of sorrow?
How art thou thus unknowing in my heart?
Words cannot tell thee what I feel: there is
An agonizing softness busy here,
That tugs the strings, that struggles to get loose,
And pour my soul in wailings out before thee.

Guildford.—Give way, and let the gushing torrent come; Behold the tears we bring to swell the deluge, Till the flood rise upon the guilty world, And make the ruin common.

Lady Jane.—Guildford! no;
The time for tender thought and soft endearments
Is fled away and gone; joy has forsaken us;
Our hearts have now another part to play;
They must be steel'd with some uncommon fortitude,
That fearless we may tread the path of horror,
And, in despite of fortune and our foes,
Ev'n in the hour of death be more than conquerors."

Lefore the close of the day on which Mary was proclaimed, Lady are, who had been queen only nine days, her husband, and her arms were all prisoners, and strict orders were given to confine in distinct apartments in the Tower. This cruel separation, artending to them all, was peculiarly so to the youthful couple, to were thus deprived of the alleviation to be derived in their try-sectionstances from mutual endearing sympathy. The Duchess of Suffolk was soon set at liberty, and at her intercession, whether with Queen Mary, or with some councillor, we are not informed, the Dais of Suffolk was liberated on the 31st of July, on engaging to

¹ This tragedy is included in British Theatre, vol. E.



of death, regretted that he had so much supported the new which he stigmatized as false, and as the cause why God had it the nation with the loss of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the the rebellion, and after that with the sweating-sickness onished the spectators to cleave to the religion of their fore-rejecting that of modern date, and thanked God for having fed to call him now to be a Christian; "for," said he, "these years I have been none." Whatever he had pretended, to so own purposes, he had certainly been governed by other than love to the Reformation in attempting the elevation of the to regal dignity. He perished unregretted, for he was a tree dreaded than beloved. His body, with his head, were not the Tower, beside the late Duke of Somerset.

Jane, who was too young profoundly to scan human character dreamed that Northumberland had professed and favoured ermation solely to advance his ambitious schemes. She behat, like herself, he had done so from conviction; and hence trise on hearing that, previously to and at his execution, he canced the Protestant faith for Popery. Nor could she convolved the Protestant faith for Popery. Nor could she convolved the Protestant faith for Popery. Nor could she convolved the Protestant faith for Popery. Nor could she convolved to Popery proceeded from the hope of pardon, or was the of his real sentiments, which he had hitherto dissembled. We were her feelings, and that she expressed them strongly, a from a record of her conversation one day at dinner, by the of Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, who dined to on that occasion. This record we shall give in his own "On Tuesday, the 29th of August," says he, "I dined at yes house with my Lady Jane, she sitting at the board's end,

tide of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, written by a resident in the Tower, to have been Rowland Lea, an officer of the mint, edited by John Gough Esq. and printed for the Camden Society, pp. 18, 19, 21. The duke's eldest land of Warwick, died in prison. His younger sons, Lord Ambrose, Robert, where incarcerated, and received sentence of death; but they were ultiplicated. Sir Andrew Dudley, the duke's brother, who was condemned to a she paraloxed.

'a densit, p. 615.

and there being present Partridge, his wife, Jacob, my l woman, and her man. She commanding Partridge and sour caps, amongst our communication at the dinner th



Lady Jane at dinner in Partridge's house.

noted: after she had once or twice drunk to me, and ba tily welcome, saith she, 'The queen's majesty is a mercif I beseech God she may long continue, and [that He ma bountiful grace upon her.' After that we fell in [discounters of religion; and she asked who he was that preache on Sunday before; and so it was told her to be one [bla 'I pray you,' quoth she, 'have they mass in London?' sooth,' quoth I, 'in some places.' 'It may so be,' quoth not so strange as the sudden conversion of the late dul would have thought,' said she, 'he would have so don answered her, 'Perchance he thereby hoped to have had 'Pardon!' quoth she, 'wo worth him! he hath brought stock in most miserable calamity and misery by his exceetion. But for the answering that he hoped for life by h though other men be of that opinion, I utterly am no

here living, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that me of life in that case; being in the field against the queen as general, and after his taking so hated and evil-spoken of ommons? and at his coming into prison so wondered at1 as was never heard by any man's time. Who was judge that I hope for pardon, whose life was odious to all men? But I ye more? like as his life was wicked and full of dissimulawas his end thereafter. I pray God, I, nor no friend of so. Should I, who [am] young and in the flower of my sake my faith for the love of life? Nay, God forbid! much should not, whose fatal course, although he had lived his ber of years, could not have long continued. But life was appeared; so he might have lived, you will say, he did [not] Indeed the reason is good; for he that would have lived s to have had his life, by like would leave no other mean d. But God be merciful to us, for he saith, 'Whoso denieth ore men, he will not know him in his father's kingdom.' is and much like talk the dinner passed away; which ended, ad her ladyship that she would vouchsafe [to] accept me in pany; and she thanked me likewise, and said I was welcome. aked Partridge also for bringing me to dinner. 'Madam.' 'we were somewhat bold, not knowing that your ladyship flow, until we found your ladyship there.' And so Partridge eparted."2

sparently gazed at without sympathy.

Seek of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, pp. 24-26. Here the editor has the

seek of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, pp. 24-26. Here the editor has the

seek of Lady Jane Grey, though it has been once extracted and printed, when

see in the possession of Sir Simond D'Ewes, in his pamphlet entitled The

Practice of Preserving Truth. 1645. 4to. Sir Simonds has there appended

thorung remarks: 'How justly may the masculine constancy of this excel
them many virtues the pens of her very enemies have acknowledged, rise

funcit against all such poor spirits who, for fear of death or other outward

that deny God and his truth, and so crown the trophies of the antichristian

will alversaries by their lamentable apostasy. For what she here spake chris
to the 17th day of February, 1553.'"



naving, on the morning or that Tower, under a guard of 400 so vain to attempt a defence, and th of the indictment. On this occ common degree of self-possession a moment, nor her voice falter nounced, the prisoners were esco guard.1 On their way the popu fested for them all, and especiall attainments and amiable charac respect and affection. She and h from the time of their arrest till t was concluded they were confined and never again met in this world with her to prison, and-always 1 the eyes of others than from her c friends who were permitted to vi powered by the scene, they were t ful companions of my sorrows," sh with your plaints? Are we not be even disgrace, if it be necessary? innocent were not exposed to viol Soon after, she obtained some r had also the liberty of the "ports," where they lodged, permitted to walk on the leads of the Tower. From this alight favours, it was fondly hoped by their friends that and innocence of the amiable pair had made such an on even the hard and unfeeling heart of Mary, as to to extend to them the royal elemency.

and her ghostly counsellors were now extremely anxious to ady Jane from heresy to the Popish faith. It has indeed med by Foxe and others, that the most solemn promises of artune were held out to her, provided she would abjure the doctrines; but if so, she rejected the tempting offer, refusing cans, or even for life, to belie her honest convictions; and, though not formally condemned for heresy, she is as well a though she had been so, to be ranked among the martyrs formed faith.

confined in the Tower, Lady Jane, having heard that ing, formerly her father's chaplain and her tutor, had, after sion of Mary to the throne, relapsed into Popery, addressed long letter of severe reprehension and earnest expostularom the pungency of censure characteristic of certain parts ter, some, as Howard, in his Life of Lady Jane, have denied atticity, arguing that it could not have been the genuine effumind so gentle and amiable as that of our heroine. "It ea," says Howard, "with a variety of phrases, applied to as forsaking Christ, which surpass even the Billingsgate of dern sectaries. Then follow reproaches for apostasy, in a

the of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 33.—Stowe's Annals,
in his Life of Lady Jane, from her having signed this letter with her
as concludes that it was written previously to her marriage, and supposes
a Harding did not openly profess the change in his sentiments till after
raises, yet Lady Jane was acquainted with the change some time before he
could it. It may, however, be questioned whether the mere fact of her havthe letter with her maiden name is a sufficient ground for assigning it a
table imprisonment. Its whole tone certainly conveys the impression that
tan to one who had renounced Protestantism, and professed Popery in the

style such as few professed termagants would venture to us versation, much less set down in writing; whilst the atta the Roman Catholic Church, though it manifests great vehe faith and abhorrence, does not at all resemble either the the Christian forbearance for which Lady Jane was so rem Can it for a moment be supposed," he adds, "that such ep 'deformed imp of the devil,' 'stinking and filthy kennel o 'unshamefast paramour of Antichrist,' 'cowardly runaway,' calf,' '* * * of Babylon,' 'sink of sin,' 'child of perdition,' livered milksop,' with a long &c., can have issued from the pen of an amiable young female? We think not; and there sider it unnecessary to notice this epistle any further."

There are, however, good grounds for believing this lett the genuine production of Lady Jane. John Banks, an Reformer, writing concerning her, in a letter to Henry B dated London, March 15, 1554, says, "It may be seen how h admirable mind was illuminated by the light of God's Word letters, one of which she herself wrote to the Lady Kathar sister, a most noble virgin, to inspire her with a love of the writings, and the other to a certain apostate, to bring him Christ the Lord. I have taken the pains to translate bot letters from our vernacular language2 into Latin, that you lence may perceive that the pains which you have taken to e that family, and incite them to the love of godliness, have n ill bestowed." Mr. James Haddon, another English Reform roborates Banks's statement on the point in question, in a l Henry Bullinger, dated Strasburg, August 31, 1554. "As regards the Lady Jane's exhortations to a certain apostate," "I believe and partly know that it is true, and did really from herself." Nor is it to be forgotten that, as her let

¹ Lady Jane Grey and her Times, pp. 345, 346.

² It is therefore evident that Lady Jane wrote her letter to Harding in En not in Latin, as has been supposed by some, who have mistaken Banks's Latifor the original.

² Zurich Letters, first series, Nos. 134, 141.

the death of Harding, who lived after this many ch he was engaged in bitter controversies with the ould not, had it been a forgery, have allowed the unexposed. And when Foxe inquired of Aylmer specting Lady Jane, Aylmer informed him of this print, recommending him to insert it in his work, ill say it was piously and prudently written, and

n the pungent style of some parts of the letter, we count that in her time it was reckoned not incommement of manners to use in religious disputation rould now be accounted extravagantly intemperate conducting controversies with the Papists, the Re-Popery everywhere around them, presenting itself eful forms, in its gross idolatries, its shameless deadly hatred of God's Word, its sanguinary peroscriptions, inquisitions, racks, flames, massacres, strongly on the subject, and not in the soft accents r Protestants of later times, who, having never felt ery, think of it simply as an absurb superstition; schanting music, its masterly paintings, its finely , its magnificent architectural structures, and not in r as displayed in the faithful page of history. It ural for this young lady to use forms of phraseology he had heard from the lips of the Reformers, whom imilar to what she had read in their writings. Beeep-rooted conviction of the truth of the reformed Popery being the Antichrist of Scripture, the great Christ, of the church, of man, she regarded apostasy sm to Popery with horror, and in her benevolent her old tutor, described in strong language his with the view of arousing his conscience, though, in strong language might tend to defeat her object, by

¹ Strype's Life of Aylmer, pp. 7, 8.

wounding his pride and creating irritation. But though some parts of the letter are expressed in terms less respectful than would be expected from a lady in our day, in addressing an individual in similar circumstances, yet the high-toned Christian principle, the deep abhorrence of the soul-ruining errors of Popery impressed on the whole, is admirable, and worthy of all imitation.

Mary's accession to the throne, and her vigorous efforts in putting down the Reformation, and in re-establishing Popery, put the Romanists into ecstasy. "Then," to quote the words of Stephen Perlin, a French ecclesiastic, who was at that time in London, "you might have seen bishops, who had been displaced by the young King Edward, and his late father, Henry, coming in great joy and magnificence about the town, mounted on mules and little pompous



Pompous parade of Poplah Priests.

horses, dressed in great gowns of black camlet, over which were beautiful surplices, their heads covered with satin hoods, like those worn by the monks, being joyous on account of the queen's victory."

During Lady Jane's imprisonment, the new queen was not only

¹ This letter is printed in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi., p. 418; in the Harling Miscellany, vol. iii., pp. 114-116; and in various other collections.

² Howard's Life of Lady Jane Grey and her Times, pp. 301, 302.

ly carrying into effect the object nearest her heart, the rement of Popery, but she was giving manifest indications of ecuting spirit by her proclamations, by the imprisonment of oth clergy and laity-among whom were Bishop Hooper, pop Cranmer, and Bishops Ridley and Latimer, simply bespected of being well affected towards the Reformationhe rescissory acts of her first Parliament. These proceedings no small dissatisfaction and alarm; for though the great body cople were far from being well instructed in the reformed s, a large proportion of them regarded them with greater han Popery. This dissatisfaction and alarm were increased queen's contemplated marriage with Philip of Spain. No were the articles of the marriage published, than an insurhasty and ill-concerted, broke out, headed by Sir Thomas who attempted to raise the county of Kent, and Sir Peter who engaged to muster forces in Cornwall. Though the ats had not the most distant intention of restoring Lady regal power, the Duke of Suffolk, with an infatuation tonishing, when it is considered that his daughter was still ucen's power, joined them, and undertook to raise the midinties. The insurrection was speedily suppressed. Suffolk's thich were few in number, were scattered, and he himself en by the Earl of Huntingdon. Proclamation to that effect le on the 1st of Feburary, and on Saturday, the 10th of that be was brought in prisoner to the Tower of London. Wyatt assault on the metropolis, but was defeated on the 6th of month, made prisoner, and ultimately beheaded. In comtion of this victory, command was given by the queen and hop of London that a Te Deum should be sung in St. Paul's and in every parish church in London, and that all the bells be rung.3

of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet, and friend of Queen Anne Boleyn.

a bull account of it the reader is referred to Holinshed and other historians,
pr's Mess. Eccl., vol. iii., part i., p. 140.



remarks, "was verified, 'The father children's teeth are set on edge;' t her father's fault; for if her father, t second time made shipwreck of hi had never tasted the salt water of t as a rock of offence, she is the first

Accordingly, on the 8th of Febr queen's confessor,2 was sent to comm that she was to die on the following affected her tranquillity. So far fi hope of life, she had been anticips of prison it would be only to the b his discourse to the subject of reli success, all his powers of argument Papist. Not wishing to waste the had to live in this world in useless now she had no time to think of a eternity. Construing this into a pr be delayed, and in the hope that I might be converted to Popery, he of a reprieve of three days. Know. determined upon, she longed for the and at the intimation of this poor tified. "You are much deceived," said she to Feckenham, think I had any desire of longer life; for I assure you since you went from me, my life has been so tedious to me, that for nothing so much as death, and since it is the queen's I am most willing to undergo it."

the sole motive in granting the reprieve was to endeavour, sle, to induce her to change her religion, and die professing Papist, as her father-in-law had done, appears from the frewith which the queen and council, under pretext of extreme e for the salvation of her soul, sent priests to instruct her, as tended in the right way, but who only distracted her mind arbed her devotions, by constraining her to engage in incesputations. Her ability and knowledge of the reformed prinsabled her to maintain her ground with the ablest of these ersialists, and such was the stability of her faith, that she d inflexible, never exhibiting, in a single instance, the slightest g. "Divers learned Roman Catholics," says an old writer, en those of the best fame and reputation, were sent unto her ade her from that true profession of the gospel, which from dle she had ever held, each striving by art, by flattery, by sings, by promise of life, or whatever else might move most in om of a weak woman, who should become master of so great rthy a prize; but all their labours were bootless, for she had confound their art, wisdom to withstand their flatteries, on above their menaces, and such a true knowledge of life ath was to her no other than a most familiar acquaintance."2 of these disputations, the substance of which she wrote out er own hand, and subscribed, has been preserved, forming an ting memorial of her ability in defending the reformed doc-It was held between her and Feckenham, two days before

er's Chronicle, p. 319.

Life, Death, and Actions of the most Chaste, Learned, and Religious Lady, the me Grey, &c., London, 1615.—See also The Phanix, vol. ii., p. 27.

^{*} printed in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi., pp. 415-417; in The Phanix, pp. 20, 40; and in Nicolan's Memoirs and Literary Remains of Ludy Jane Grey.

her death, and took place publicly in the Tower, in presence of the nobility and other persons of learning and distinct greatly admired her argumentative power, combined with in maintaining her principles. Towards the close of the di-Feckenham, it would appear, finding himself scarcely a polemics for his youthful opponent, and in danger of suffer what in his reputation for learning, so far forgot himself as to her in terms unsuitable to the gravity becoming his chi a priest, and cruel to one in her situation. It is also said coming along with others to take his leave of her, mortifiunsuccessful issue of this exertion of his persuasive powers "Madam, I am sorry for you and your obstinacy, and I assured you and I shall never meet again;" language such be expected from a Popish priest, who believes, or profess lieve, that there is no salvation beyond the limits of th Church. She promptly retorted, "It is most true, sir, we sh meet again except God turn your heart, for I stand und assured, that unless you repent and turn to God you are and desperate case, and I pray God, in the bowels of his send you his Holy Spirit, for he hath given you his gree utterance, if it please him to open the eyes of your hear truth." Offended at this retort, Feckenham went away paying her the usual parting compliment, whilst she withd her bed-chamber, to engage in devotional exercises.1 Fee however, save in this instance, seems, upon the whole, to ha towards her, both in prison and on the scaffold, with res sympathy, for which she was duly grateful.

On the evening of the 9th of February she wrote her me letter to her father, conveying to him her last expressions affection, extenuating the guilt of her usurpation, from he acted by constraint, and breathing the spirit of pious rescharacteristic of everything she wrote during her impris-His bitter remorseful agony, on reading this letter, we can

¹ Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi., p. 417 .- The Phanix, vol. ii., pp.

a. The opening sentence, which refers to his having shortr days, though expressed in the gentlest and most Christian
ne must have felt as a sword piercing his heart. When
this letter, she had probably heard neither of his having
arms against the government, nor of his arrest. On the folday, just two days before her decapitation, he was brought in
r to the Tower of London, guarded by a troop of 300 horse,
he Earl of Huntingdon, and she did not long remain ignohis fate.

circumstance connected with the closing scene of this admirung lady, sheds a bright halo around her character. Even dom verses she wrote with a pin on the walls of the place of prisonment, to beguile the tedious hours, attest her ardent and tranquil submission to the will of God. One of these

> "Dee juvante nil nocet livor malus, Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis. Post tenebras spero lucem."

has been thus translated :-

"Endless all malice, if our God is nigh,
Fruitless all pains, if he his help deny.
Patient I pass these gloomy hours away,
And wait the morning of eternal day."

er conveys a moral for the instruction of others:-

"Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt; Sors hodierna mihi cras erat illa tibi."

h has been translated thus :-

"Think not, O mortal! vainly gay,
That thou from human woes art free:
The bitter cup I drink to-day
To-morrow may be drunk by thee."

of the books she used while in prison, as a help to her devo-

1 See this letter in Appendix, No. IIL

containing thirty-five prayers; the first thirty being writ same hand, and the last five by some other person.1 H her husband came into the possession of this manual i certain. The most probable conjecture is that it was wri use of the Duke of Somerset, the Protector, upon his firs ment in the Tower-the last five prayers having been his second commitment, which ended in his execution; a Jane's husband's brother, John, Earl of Warwick, was Anne Seymour, eldest daughter of the protector, it is sur it was given to Lord Guildford by his sister-in-law, after sonment, as a present appropriate to his trying situation. Duke of Suffolk was made prisoner, permission being gr his daughter, and son-in-law, occasionally to borrow this each other, Lord Guildford and Lady Jane, availing the this license, wrote on the margin assurances of duty ar to their dear relative, all personal intercourse or commu letter being probably denied them. The first note which written by Lord Guildford to the duke. A few pages Lady Jane addresses to him the following note:- "The fort your grace, and that in his Word, wherein all cres are to be comforted; and though it hath pleased God to two of your children, yet think not, I most humbly be grace, that you have lost them; but trust that we, by le mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I, for my have honoured your grace in this life, will pray for you life.2 Your grace's humble daughter, " JANE DUI

This book, it is supposed, she had promised to leave at

¹ This MS., now in modern binding, is preserved in the British Ma Harleian Collection, No. 2342.

² The doctrine that the saints in heaven pray for their friends on ear haps derived from the Apocrypha (2 Mac., chap xv. 12-14), which, if not time to be strictly canonical, was treated with a high degree of veneral plausible doctrine, but it has no foundation in the Scriptures, and is at supposition. Yet Calvin, while arguing strongly against it, maintains the in heaven pray for the saints on earth.—See his Tracts, Calvin Translatiii, p. 318.

ent to Sir John Bridges, the lieutenant of the Tower, who ous to receive from her some last memorial; and in compith his request, she wrote in it a few sentences, of which ring is a copy:—"Forasmuch as you have desired so simple to write in so worthy a book, good master lieutenant, I shall, as a friend, desire you, and as a Christian require all upon God to incline your heart to his laws, to quicken is way, and not to take the word of truth utterly out of with. Live still to die, that by death you may purchase fe; and remember how Methuselah, though, as we read in tures, he was the longest liver that was of a man, died at r, as the preacher saith, 'There is a time to be born, and a die; and the day of death is better than the day of our ours, as the Lord knoweth, as a friend,

"JANE DUDDELEY."

uning before her death she spent in the most becoming and manner, employing herself in reading the Scriptures, in m, and prayer. On this evening she also wrote an affecad pious letter to her sister Katharine, on some pages of per, bound up at the end of the Greek New Testament, al been her daily companion in prison. Having finished , she closed up the book, and delivered it to one of her at-Mrs. Tylney, or Mrs. Ellen, with instructions to convey it ster, as the last token of her affection. This interesting ests how wonderfully her thoughts were composed in cirwhich, it might be imagined, would have destroyed all reflection, and affords satisfactory evidence of the support ort which, even in the prospect of a death of cruelty and , she derived from the well-grounded hope of a better life, the finished work of Christ.2 Faith in the divine Saviour that Christian alchymy which, exerting its transmuting on everything, converts the most trying events into minis-

Nicolas's Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey, pp. 54-59.

^{\$} See this letter in Appendix, No. IV.

ters of exalted good, educing, even from death itself, life.

After Lady Jane had finished this letter, and had sen her sister by her servant, she was again assailed by the bishops and other learned Popish doctors, who held her in ference for two hours, expending their utmost ingenuit quence to persuade her to renounce the new opinions and Popish faith. If they expected to make her a convert they egregiously mistook her character. Their argumen failed in shaking her belief in the reformed principles. hopeless of gaining their object, and chafed at her immo stancy, "they left her (as they said) a lost and forsaken in other words, a child of perdition; who, forsaken by given over to Satan, would, the moment of her death, be to hell. But Jane was not to be frightened with the figmer critical and interested popes, Popish councils, and Popi that there is no salvation beyond the pale of the Romi She, on the contrary, believed that, so far from salvation fined to the Church of Rome, the souls of such as remai its pale were exposed to the utmost peril.1 She desired confessor, and no priestly absolution. To God alone sh ledged her sins; and from him alone, through Christ, forgiveness and salvation.

On the last evening of her life, probably after the Pop had left her, she also finished and corrected a prayer sh viously composed in prison.² This affords additional e her mental composure, and of her fervid devotional spirit of her diligence in improving the short time she had to I world.

The fatal morning, 12th February, 1554, appointed for tion of Lady Jane and her husband, at length arrived originally intended to execute them together on Tower

¹ The Phoenix, vol. ii., p. 42.

¹ See this prayer in Nicolas's Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey, 1

of too powerfully awakening the sympathies of the people s the youthful pair, who were generally regarded as more unte than criminal, the council changed their orders, and gave tions that Lord Guildford should suffer on Tower Hill, and lane within the walls of the fortress. Guildford, on the g of his execution, had requested permission to take farewell sloved partner of his bosom. This small favour the queen refuse. But Lady Jane, dreading it might destroy the forof both, declined a parting interview, sending him word that sierness of their meeting and parting might be more than of them could bear; but reminding him that their separation be but for a moment, and that soon they would rejoin each a a world where their affections would be for ever united; to which afflictions, disappointments, and death, could not a disturb their eternal felicity. As on leaving the prison, to the place of execution, he had to pass directly under the w of her cell, she had an opportunity of taking a final look, giving him from her window a token of her love. On the Guildford behaved with dignity and resolution. No minisaligion attended him. "He had probably refused the attenda Roman Catholic priest, and was not allowed one of his own * Kneeling down, he spent some time in prayer, and repeatald up his eyes and hands to heaven. In his address to the had crowd, he simply desired an interest in their prayers, thich, stretching himself along, and laying his head upon the be gave the fatal signal, and the executioner did his work at de stroke.2

comfold for the execution of Lady Jane was erected upon the opposite the White Tower. Her husband having thus paid that of his life, the officers shortly after announced to her that write were ready to attend her to the scaffold. They found agged in the perusal of the book of prayers formerly referred

Baker's Chronicle, p. 319.

² Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, pp. 54, 55.

to, and she received the awful summons with composure and fortitude. "She was called down," says a writer quoted before, "to go to the place of execution, to which she had prepared herself with more diligence than either the malice of her adversaries could desire, or the vigilance of any officer, for the discharge of his duty expect; and being come down and delivered into the hands of the sheriffs, they might behold in her a countenance so gravely settled with all modest and comely resolution, that not the least symptom, either of fear or grief, could be perceived to proceed either out of her speech or motions: but she was like one going to be united to her heart's best and longest beloved."1 While "with this blessed and modest boldness of spirit, undaunted and unaltered," she went towards the scaffold, a circumstance occurred which, for a moment, shook her fortitude. Through the indiscretion of the officers, for we can hardly suppose that it was done from the malice of an enemy, she met on her way the headless corpse of her husband passing to the Tower for interment. This appalling spectacle "a little startled her, and many tears were seen to descend upon her cheeks;" but she said nothing, and soon recovered from the shock, and dried up her tears.3

¹ Life, Death, and Actions of the most Chaste, &c., Lady Jane Grey.

² Ibid., and The Phoenix, vol. ii., p. 42, which appears to have copied from that work The facts, as stated in the text, also agree with the narrative of Grafton, nearly a comtemporary writer. Lord Guildford Dudley's "dead carkas," says he, "liying in carre in strawe was againe brought into the Tower, at the same instant that the Landin Jane, his wife, went to her death within the Tower, which miserable sight was to a double sorow and griefe."-Chronicle, vol. ii., p. 544. According to other writers was from the window of her prison, and not on her way to the scaffold, that she the corpse of her husband. It is said that, when sitting in her prison awaiting t awful summons, she heard the cart passing, and rising, notwithstanding the attempt of her attendants to prevent her, walked steadily to the window under which it passes so as to obtain a view of the corpse-an extremely natural expression of affections grief. The author of the Chronicle of Queen Jane, &c., a contemporary, in mentionis the fact of her seeing the dead body of her husband, is too indeterminate to assist to in deciding as to the circumstances in which she saw it. Lord Guildford's "carcase, says he, "thrown into a car, and his head in a cloth, he was brought into the chape within the Tower, where the Lady Jane, whose lodging was in Partridge's house, dis see his dead carcase taken out of the cart, as well as she did see him before in life going to his death-a sight to her not less than death. Being nothing at all abashed

conducted to the scaffold by Sir John Bridges, the lieuthe Tower, dressed in the gown which she wore at her ttended by her two gentlewomen, Mrs. Elizabeth Tylney Ellen, who wept bitterly, while not a tear moistened her s. She brought with her the book of prayers she had prison, and all the way to the scaffold she was engaged it.1 On reaching the place of execution, she saluted the others in commission with unaltered mien and counteo Protestant minister was permitted to be present to levotions. Feckenham had accompanied her professedly irpose; but though he treated her with all humanity, not fidence in his religious sentiments, she was disturbed by ce, and was observed not to give much heed to his disattention during it being apparently absorbed in readok of prayers she had brought with her from the prison. as not ungrateful for any kindness he had shown her. On by the hand and bidding him farewell, she said to him, abundantly requite you, good sir, for your humanity to your discourses gave me more uneasiness than all the ny approaching death." Turning round to the spectators, sed them in a short speech, declaring that in accepting she had been rather constrained by the solicitations of n governed by her own deliberate judgment and volunexpressing her exclusive dependence upon the merits of salvation; vindicating the justice of God in the death she o die, because of the many sins she had committed; and the Christian people to pray for her so long as she was Good people," said she, "I am come hither to die, and by

fear of her own death, which then approached, neither with the sight of use of her husband, when he was brought into the chapel, she came forth, the beating her."—P. 55. On beholding his remains, she is reported to 'O Gulldford! Gulldford! the antepast is not so bitter that you have hat I shall soon taste, as to make my flesh tremble; it is nothing comfeast that you and I shall this day partake of in heaven."

e of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 56.

a law I am condemned to the same. The fact, indeed, a queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting the me: 1 but touching the procurement and desire thereof my half, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency, befor the face of you, good Christian people, this day;" and the wrung her hands, in which she had her book. Then sl pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness a true Christian woman, and that I look to be saved by means but only by the mercy of God, in the merits of tl his only Son, Jesus Christ: and I confess, when I did Word of God I neglected the same, loved myself and the therefore this plague or punishment is happily and wor pened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God of his that he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent. good people, while I am alive, I pray you to assist me prayers." 2

In this address, as the attentive reader will perceive, doctrines as to human merit, the invocation, mediation cession of saints, purgatory, and masses offered for the the dead, though not expressly mentioned, are evidently and plainly though implicitly rejected; and seeing be rounded by Popish priests, who frequently circulated fathat the martyrs at their death had abjured their errors the Roman faith, she seems as if afraid lest her dying should be misrepresented.

Having concluded her address, she kneeled down, to her devotions, and turning to Feckenham, said, "Shall I

² Ibid., p. 52. Another report of this speech, "somewhat more verbo impressive," as the editor of *The Chronicle*, &c., observes, is to be found it

vol. ii. pp. 42, 43; and in Nicolas's Remains of Lady Jane.

^{1 &}quot;Holinshed has amplified this into the following more explicit sta offence against the queen's highness was only in consent to the device of now is deemed treason; but it was never my seeking, but by counsel should seem to have further understanding of things than I, who kne law, and much less of the titles to the crown." "—Chronicle of Queen Jo Mary, Note by editor, p. 52.





ferring to the 51st, beginning in the Vulgate with these fisereri mei Deus." "Yes, madam," he replied; upon repeated it from beginning to end. Having done this she her knees, and began to prepare for her fate by taking off First pulling off her gloves, she gave them and her tief to one of her maids, Mrs. Ellen.1 At the same time the book of prayers she had brought with her to the Mr. Thomas Bridges, the lieutenant's brother. On her to untie her gown, the executioner offered to assist her, sired him to let her alone, and turned towards her two nen, who assisted her in taking it off, and also in taking off paste" and neckerchief, giving her, when this service med, a white handkerchief to tie about her eyes. At this he executioner fell on his knees before her, and begged her . This request she most willingly granted. He next r to stand upon the straw; in doing which the block met but the sight did not shake her fortitude, and she only that he would despatch her quickly. Again kneeling asked him, "Will you take it off before I lay me down." am," he answered. She now bound the handkerchief eyes, and feeling for the block, exclaimed, "What shall I e is it? where is it?' Upon which one of the by-standers her to the block; and immediately lying down, she laid upon it, and uttered, with an audible voice, the pious -the last words she spoke, "Lord, into thy hands I my spirit." The axe fell, and in an instant her head was om her body. All present, even the partizans of Mary,

In Archaeologia, it is "Tylney."

IN Nicolas, in his Life of Lady Jane (p. xci.), is greatly puzzled as to the

IN Nicolas, in his Life of Lady Jane (p. xci.), is greatly puzzled as to the

IN Nicolas, in his Life of Lady Jane (p. xci.), is greatly puzzled as to the

IN Nicolas, in his Life of Lady Jane and Queen Mary (p. 58), is of opinion that pro
In paste," or matronly head-dress, is meant; the paste being a head attire

In the same Almost exchain, with an account in Archaeologia, vol. xtii, p. 407.

were deeply moved at the spectacle, and melted int news of her execution rapidly spread, and excited miseration among all parties. There was somethin touching, to every mind of ordinary sensibility, in this unfortunate destiny of a young lady, illustrious birth, but still more illustrious by her high virtue sanctity, and her extraordinary attainments. Being i worthy of an earthly crown, it almost seems, as So served with fine feeling, "as if she had been summone a heavenly one, lest the world should stain a spirit cumstances could render more fit for heaven." Me has recorded of Lady Jane, it does not inform us who was interred. The presumption is, that both she and were buried in the chapel of the Tower.

The day on which she suffered was long called Blabeing the commencement of a bloody week, during whe scaffolds were erected in London for the execution of been concerned in Wyatt's rebellion, and on Wedness not less than forty-seven were hanged, of whom threin chains, and seven quartered, their bodies and heat upon the different gates of the city. Bishop Gardinow lord chancellor and chief adviser of the queen, preached before her the day previous, breathed forth slaughter against the rebels, exhorting her to punish mercy; and his advice was acted upon with unmitig Knox, the Scottish Reformer, on hearing of these atroci in France, whether he had fled from England in the 1554, could not withold the expression of his righteon against their authors, and especially against Mary—w

said by the editor to be "a copy of an exceedingly rare (if not unique without date, but containing internal evidence of having been printed is supposed to have been written by the author of the Chronicle of Queen Mary, from which we have repeatedly quoted. Note of Edi &c., p. 52.

¹ Southey's Book of the Church, vol. ii., p. 142.

I not have been perpetrated—in whose breast the softer f her sex seemed to be extinguished. "I find," says he, in mition to England, written from that place, "that Jezebel, med idolatress, caused the blood of the prophets to be Naboth to be martyred unjustly for his own vineyard, ak she never erected half so many gallows in all Israel as h done within London alone. Under an English name," she hath a Spaniard's heart."

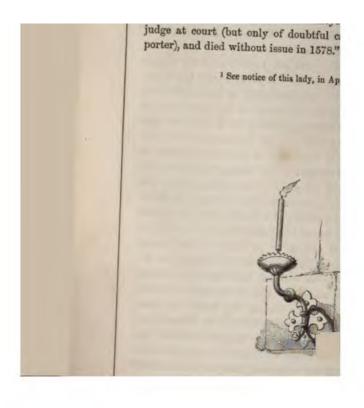
even days after Lady Jane and Lord Dudley fell victims all ambition, namely, on the 23d of February, her father aded on Tower Hill, acknowledging on the scaffold the his sentence, and calling the spectators to witness that he aithful and true Christian, believing to be saved by none only by Almighty God, through the passion of his Sonrist." Attempts had been made to convert him when in Popery, but he remained to the last as constant to the taith as his heroic daughter. Her mother afterwards adrian Stokes, Esq., a gentleman of her domestic establishwhom she had no children, and died in 1559, as appears date of a warrant issued by Queen Elizabeth to the king to cause the royal ensigns to be borne at her funeral, ed on her monument in honour of her relation to her

Her sister Katharine, who had been married, or rather to Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke, at a very se, was repudiated, simply because her family had sunk

She was afterwards privately married to Edward Seyrd of Hertford, son of Protector Somerset, without the e of Queen Elizabeth, whose displeasure on hearing of the y of Lady Hertford was so excited, that she fined the earl um, and committed them both to prison, in which Lady

Mem. Eccl., vol. iii., part i., pp. 140-143, &c.—Calderwood's History,

is of Queen Jans and Queen Mary, p. 64.—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, 25, and Note of Editor, in Appendix.—Zurich Letters, first series, pp. 303-305. and other writers are therefore incorrect in asserting that she died in 1563-





Grimstherpe Castle, Lincolnshire.

THARINE WILLOUGHBY,

DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK.

ATHARINE WILLOUGHBY was the daughter of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby, by his wife, Mary of Salines or Salucci, a Spanish lady of illustrious descent, who had accompanied Katharine of Aragon into England on her marriage with Arthur, Prince of d was one of her maids of honour after her marriage with III. Lord Willoughby had been previously married to aghter of Sir William Hussey, of Sleaford, in the county of might, by whom he had no issue. His marriage to Mary, which probably took place about 1513, was one of those which had been brought about by the good offices of Queen

Katharine, who testified her friendship for her maids of h her zealous endeavours to secure for them prosperous mat alliances. By the marriage contract his lordship settled an ample jointure. By her he had two sons, Henry and Fran both died young during his lifetime, and a daughter, Katha subject of this sketch. He died on the 19th of October, 1 was buried in the collegiate church of Nottingham. Mary of was devotedly attached to Queen Katharine, to whom she ch unwavering fidelity and affection amidst all the fluctuation fortunes of that ill-treated queen. To evince attachment to rine after her disgrace was not without peril; it was to Henry's conduct in disgracing her, and therefore to prowrath. But this lady's affection for her mistress was stron her dread of the fury of the monarch. Hearing that Katha drawing near her last hour in this world, in the agony of s made every effort to obtain permission to visit her, thoug had interdicted the free intercourse of his divorced queen former friends. She wrote a letter to Cromwell, who was time the great favourite of Henry, humbly supplicating this sion. "And now, Mr. Secretary," says she, "need driveth n you to pain, for I heard say that my mistress is very sore sic wherefore, good Mr. Secretary, I pray you remember me goodness, for you did promise me to labour the king's gra me license to go to her grace afore God send for her; for, as formed, there is no other likelihood but it shall be shortly. so be that the king's grace of his goodness be content that I thither, without I have a letter of his grace, or else of you, the officers of my mistress's house that his grace is cont my going, my license shall stand to none effect. And as that, there is nobody can help me so well as you. Mr. S under God and the king, all my trust is in you. I pray you ber me now at this time. And so Jesus have you in his

¹ Playfair's British Family Antiquity, vol. ii., p. 626.

Barbican, the 30th day of December. By your beadwoman, ILLOUGHEY." In this letter she prudently styles Katharine my mistress," and "her grace," not giving her the title of which would certainly have defeated her object, nor the rincess-dowager," a title which Katharine, though earnestly i constantly refused to assume. The prayer of this petition, appear, was not granted, for on her arrival at Kimbolton, after the date of this letter, she could produce no official her admission. She, however, by her address and persenceeded in gaining access to Katharine, and an interesting took place between her and the queen, who expired in her on the following day.²

ine Willoughby was born about the year 1514. Being the iving child of her parents, she was her father's sole heiress. der age at the time of her father's death, her wardship 29, granted to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; a trust, s of which the duke appears to have faithfully performed. ention was then paid in England to the cultivation of the young ladies of rank, and Katharine was instructed in the ranches of learning then considered essential to female acnent. Her education is said to have been conducted under intendence of Mary Tudor, the beautiful and beloved sister VIII., formerly second queen of Louis XII. of France, at time third wife of the Duke of Suffolk, an amiable and it princess, who was ever "glad to exert her influence in the oppressed and the sorrowful."3 After the duke's marthis princess, who had been the object of his tenderest in his younger days, they lived for many years in comparasion at Weston Stow Hall, then a mansion of great extent,4

ood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Britain, vol. ii., pp. 207-209.

Mem Eccl., vol. i., part i., p. 372.—Miss Strickland's Queens of England,

cod's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol. i., p. 182, and ii., p. 310.
section rests on tradition, and it is supported by armorial bearings, which
saved upon the stone over the porch. Of this once extensive pile, which,

within four miles north-west of the venerable town of Bury munds, and here Katharine Willoughby passed some of h years.



Weston Stow Hall.

On the death of Mary Tudor, which took place at the 1 Westhorpe, Suffolk, in the summer of the year 1534, Kathreame the fourth wife of her guardian, the Duke of Sufformarriage was probably consummated in 1535, the bride be only about twenty-one years of age, while her husband was in life; but, notwithstanding their disparity of years, they gether in the utmost harmony and affection.

The Duke of Suffolk, who had been the favourite comp

in the palmy days of England, was classed among the stateliest of its "state only a small portion now remains

I from his earliest years, enjoyed to the last the affection aip of that monarch. He was considered the handsomest time, and was surpassed by none, save Henry himself, in a exercises then considered indispensable to an accomtier and a soldier. It was this duke who, on hearing the ardinal Campeggio, the Pope's legate, in opposition to the Henry from Katharine of Aragon, in the ecclesiastical bled in London in 1529, started to his feet, and, striking olently on the table, exclaimed, as he cast an indignant empeggio, "By the mass, no legate or cardinal has every at to England." This saying afterwards became pro-

period of her life, or by what means the Duchess of Sufcame acquainted with the reformed principles is uncerit is worthy of notice, as affording evidence that both duke were friendly to the Reformation, that soon after ige they selected as their chaplain Alexander Seaton, a r, and a man of learning and ingenuity, who had been King James V. of Scotland, but who had been under the fleeing from his native country about the year 1535 or pe persecution, in consequence of his having imbibed and e reformed doctrines. In Scotland Seaton, following in s of Patrick Hamilton, who had been consigned to the Andrews a few years before, had publicly taught these ad exposed with freedom the corruptions of the clergy, orded the priests at St. Andrews, their head-quarters in m. For the Duke and the Duchess of Suffolk to honour with the situation of chaplain in their household, evinced inquiry and a decided inclination to the new opinions. he preached the gospel sincerely and purely, to the edifimy who heard him; the great topic on which he delighted being justification by faith in Christ in opposition to con-

De Schism., p. 49.—Latimer's Sermons, Parker Soc. Pub., vol. i., p. 119. d's History, vol. i., pp. 92.—Knox's History, vol. i., pp. 46-52.

fidence in good works.¹ He continued chaplain in the family of the duchess till his death, which took place in 1542. If Seaton did not lay the foundation of her belief in the reformed principles, there can be little doubt that he greatly strengthened it by his instructions and conversation.

The duchess was distinguished for liveliness of disposition, and had a natural turn for pleasantry, in which she often indulged. By her playful sallies of wit she enlivened the social circle, and she could employ irony and sarcasm with great effect. On one occasion the duke, having invited Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, together with a number of ladies and gentlemen to dinner, desired each lady to choose the gentleman whom she loved best, and so take their places. The duchess selected Gardiner, as her husband, the duke, would not have her to take himself, and said, that seeing she could not sit down with her lord, whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst. This, which was probably said half in jest and half in earnest, so deeply offended Gardiner that he never forgot it, the more especially as it exposed him to the laughter of the company. She had, in truth, little cordiality of feeling for Gardiner, from his large share in the guilt of the persecution of the Reformers. His close, subtle, deceitful character, too, which made his contemporaries say that he was to be traced like the fox, and read like Hebrew, backwards; that if you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not; that while intending one thing he professed to aim at the very opposite; that he never intended what he suid, and never said what he intended; this, so opposite to her own open, straightforward character, excited her contempt, and made her indifferent about hurting the feelings of a man who, whatever was his mental capacity, was so grievously deficient in truth, integrity, honour, and other moral qualities.

In 1545 the duchess sustained a heavy domestic affliction in the

¹ Calderwood's History, vol. i., p. 93.—Knox's History, vol. i., p. 533.—M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i., p. 370.

² Harleian MS., quoted in Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i., p. 363.

her husband, who died, after a short illness, on the 22d of that year.1 Hume represents him as "the most sincere and il friend that Archbishop Cranmer possessed at court." "This in," adds the same historian, "is one instance that Henry was gether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Sufms to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earliest se had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in when informed of Suffolk's death, and he took the opporoth to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to celebrate rits of the deceased. He declared, that during the whole of their friendship his brother-in-law had never made one to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to dvantage of any person. 'Is there any of you, my lords, who as much?' When the king subjoined these words he looked n all their faces, and saw that confusion which the conscioussecret guilt naturally threw upon them."2 Among the memthe council board who heard Henry thus give expression to ngs were the Duke of Norfolk, Wriothesley, lord chancellor, phen Gardiner, who had returned from Flanders in May that nen who might well blush at the monarch's encomium on the f Suffolk, and at his pointed interrogation and significant r at that very moment, as the king well knew, they were ena a plot for the destruction of Archbishop Cranmer.

e reign of Henry VIII., when the persecuting statute of the clea was enforced with great severity, the duchess was susaf holding sentiments adverse to the six articles, and partito one of them, the doctrine of transubstantiation. It was
ted, as we have seen before, by the persecutors of that period,
whom Bishop Gardiner was conspicuous, to extract from Anne
information as to the heretical sentiments of the Duchess of
and of other ladies, who had supplied that devoted martyr

Papers, vol. v., p. 496.

of England, chap. xxxiii. He quotes from Coke's Inst., cap. 99, a 165.

the duchess and other ladies and gentle or about the court were specially aimed man, woman, or other person, of what es or they be, shall, after the last day of Au have, take, or keep, in his or their posse Testament of Tyndale's or Coverdale's. mitted by the act of Parliament, made i ment holden at Westminster in the majesty's most noble reign. Nor after have, take, or keep, in his or their posses printed or written in the English tongu forth in the names of Fryth, Tyndale, (i. e., Becon), Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, T them; but shall, before the last day in A the same English book or books to his ma dwell under any other; and the master such others as dwell at large, shall deli mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the be by them delivered over openly to the or commissary, to the intent that they nently to be openly burned; which thing sure is, that every of them shall see exec and thereof make certificate to the king n Katharine Parr. With that excellent queen, whom she ad honoured for her many Christian virtues, she was on intimate friendship; and to the duchess was intrusted the lid of Katharine, after the death of the father, the Lord of England. She has been reproached for having grudged and food to the child of her friend and protectress, instead hing the orphan babe, as might have been expected, with than maternal tenderness. But this reproach, as we have are, is as gratuitous and unjust as it is uncharitable.

reign of Edward VI. the duchess could avow her sentigore freely than in the time of Henry VIII.; and she encouraged the reforming measures which have rendered m so illustrious in the annals of the English Reformation. articularly commemorated for lending her aid to the efforts the government, towards the close of the year 1547, in hire, to abolish superfluous holy days; to remove from the images and relics; to destroy shrines, coverings of shrines, r monuments of idolatry and superstition; to put an end mages; to reform the clergy; to see that every church had in some convenient place, a copy of the large English stir up bishops, vicars, and curates to diligence in preachast the usurped authority and jurisdiction of the Pope, in ng upon all the reading of the Scriptures, and in teaching Sabbath and at other times their parishioners, and espeyoung, the Pater Noster, the Articles of Faith, and the mandments in English.2

se reforming measures of the government her old acquaintrdiner, made all the opposition in his power. The stredender of image worship, he denounced the impiety of the
pulling down and defacing images, and branded all such
unists as "worse than hogs," and as, "having been ever so
England, being called Lollards." He gravely maintained
e destruction of images contained an enterprise to subvert

2 Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. ii., part i., p. 83.

zonious in opposing the

forth from the gospellers, as the Reformer lampoons, of which he complained to the lor The duchess was the special friend and mer, Bishop of Worcester, who became the Edward VI., to whom he preached from privy-garden, the royal chapel being inst crowds which flocked to hear him; and th window in the palace. A series of these se 1549,3 by Thomas Some, who had taken the of their delivery; and they were dedicated "I have gathered," says he, "writ, and brou Friday Sermons of Mr. Hugh Latimer, whi last past, before our most noble King Ed Palace of Westminster, the third year of his most virtuous lady, I dedicate unto your ho doubting but that you will gladly embrace of their excellence, but chiefly for the p through them unto the ignorant. For in godly documents, directing ordinately not o tion, and living of kings, but also of other under him. Moses, Jeremiah, Elias, d message of God unto their rulers and peop

spirit, faithful mind, and godly zeal than.

(2 Kings xxii.) than our most noble king doth most ive credit unto the words of good father Latimer. And loubt but all godly men will likewise receive gladly his ons, and give credit unto the same. Therefore, this my r of another man's sweat, most virtuous lady, I offer most to your grace; moved thereunto of godly zeal, through fame that is dispersed universally of your most godly and unfeigned love towards the living, almighty, eternal is Holy Word; practised daily, both in your grace's most haviour, and also godly charity towards the edification of ber grafted in Christ Jesus; most humbly desiring your scept favourably this my timorous enterprise. And I, humble and faithful orator, shall pray unto Jehovah, the is of himself, by whom and in whom all things live, be, that that good work, which he hath begun in you, he m unto your last ending, through our Lord Jesus Christ; ve and keep your grace now and for ever. So be it."1 nvitation of the duchess, Latimer frequently preached in Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire.2 None of the reformed was, indeed, more highly esteemed by her than Latimer; rrespondence affords incidental notices of the kind attenpaid him. For example, in one of her letters to Cecil, June, 1552, she refers to her earnest desire of providing ith a venison pasty at the feast of his wife's churching, by m a buck; but her keeper, even with her own assistance, ceed in killing one in time for the occasion. "By the late this buck to you," says she, "you shall perceive that wild not ready at commandment, for truly I have caused my and went forth with him myself on Saturday at night

s Sermons and Remains, edited for the Parker Society, vol. i., pp. 79-83.

In of Grimsthorpe is situated in the parish of Edenham, four miles and Bourn, and is the seat of the present Lord Willoughby de Eresby. It is structure, and has been erected at different periods; some parts as early f Henry III., others in the time of Henry VIII., and others at a later view of the castle, prefixed to this Life, exhibits it as now existing.

after I came home (which was a marvel for me), but so desire I to have had one for Mr. Latimer to have sent after him to be churching; but there is no remedy but she must be churche out it. For I have, ever since you wrote for yours, besides be keepers, had about it, and yet could not prevait this morning; and now I pray God it be anything worth."

Among the measures adopted in prosecuting the Reforma



Bonner in Confinement

the reign of Edward VI., were the deprivation and imprisonment those bishops who refused to abandon the old system. Bonnes

¹ Some words are here illegible in Original MS.

² Tytler's Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, vol. i. 118. The letter close "From Grimsthorpe, this present Wednesday, at six o'clock in the morning; a sluggard, in my bed. Your assured to my power, K. Suffolk."

e see of London, was deprived and imprisoned in the Marduring the whole of this reign. Gardiner, Bishop of Winfor censuring the Homily on Salvation and the Paraphrase mus, was committed to the Fleet in 1547; and refusing to enty-two articles which embraced the leading reformed doche was deprived of his see, shut up in a cell in the Tower, the use of pen, ink, and paper, and none was allowed to visit With respect to these two prelates they certainly merited nent, and far greater than what was inflicted upon them, for surderous cruelty in the former reign. They were, however, d upon a different ground, and one less susceptible of detheir refusal to submit to the ecclesiastical changes now ind. It was wrong in principle to inflict upon them civil pains nalties, simply for refusing to conform, so long as they repeaceable and orderly subjects. At the same time it ought beerved, that an instinctive feeling of self-preservation, an msion lest spirits so able and energetic might disturb the tranquillity, seems to have been the impelling, though not wed motive of their punishment; and in those days, when of the nations of Europe were converted by the intolerance ery into fields of blood, active Popish emissaries could not regarded by Protestants as dangerous members of society. e punishment of these chieftains of the Papacy was impolitic, nce certainly proved, as it exasperated their minds, exciting ful feelings, and furnished them, when the day of their power I with justifying precedents for fierce and vindictive reta-

Duchess of Suffolk, it is evident, was not dissatisfied at the ument of these persecuting bishops. Both of them had been ental in bringing to the stake her friend, Anne Askew, and them, Gardiner, had conspired to bring her more intimate Katharine Parr, to the scaffold, as well as meditated mischief berself for her heresy. This had roused her spirit, and she

Turner's Modern History of England, vol. iii., pp. 238-240.

was not slow in letting them know, by her poignant invective they were not to expect sympathy from her. As she was o passing by the chamber of the Tower in which Gardiner wa fined, the imprisoned bishop, on seeing her, courteously life hat to her from his chamber window, looking sweet as sum humbly and gently in his present condition as if he could no cherished a harsh thought, nor uttered a harsh word, nor done: action against any human being. The duchess well knew the cerity of this courtly deference; that, in truth, he cordially hate and making no effort to conceal her satisfaction at the imprise of a man whose hands were red with Protestant blood, she ren on observing his salutation, that it was merry with the lam' when the wolf was shut up. Under this withering sarcasm Ga secretly writhed and was mightily enraged. It was also said, the report was unfounded, that during some of her journeys th the country, the duchess had caused a dog to be clothed in a and that she carried it about with her, giving it the name of Gardiner. This humorous device in ridicule of Gardiner had nated with others, not with her, and the pantomime had been e by others, without their consulting or receiving any such order her; but the story had been told to Gardiner as one of her rent contrivances to bring him into contempt, and it had the el deepening his vindictive resentments against her, though, bein up in a prison, and powerless, he deemed it prudent in the mes to conceal his feelings.

The duchess had to the Duke of Suffolk two sons, Henr Charles, both of them youths of excellent promise. They stud King's College, Cambridge, and were placed under the tuition of accomplished scholar, Dr. Walter Haddon, professor of civil launiversity orator. The duchess accompanied them to Camb and was residing there about the time when Martin Bucer, who come from Strasburg to England upon the invitation of Edwar was made professor of divinity at Cambridge. To the inspand counsel of that eminent man she commended her sons.

uch addicted to the study of letters, and such was his he mastered in a short time, and with the greatest ease, ers long and laborious study. Yet his manners were assuming. He delighted in the conversation of learned of whom his mother had taken care to surround him, whom he himself, attracted by their talents and accelected as his associates. On meeting with his learned stom was to propound some question for mutual dishad a ready and fluent utterance, which Haddon obgly advised him to cultivate, by diligently studying the cero, assuring him that by doing so for a year or two, one a more accomplished master of the Ciceronian style high as was his reputation as a successful imitator of nan orator. This advice was punctually followed by Similar were the talents and character of his brother

o Strype, the duchess intended to match Duke Henry mes Woodville, who was brought up in her house, and and marriage of whom she had obtained from the king.² may be as to this, we know that her decided judgment tren should be allowed freedom of choice in matrimonial

On this point she displayed a soundness of judgment ity of feeling by no means common in that age, when of mere worldly interest were generally the deternts in the formation of marriage alliances. The Duke and protector, with whom she was on a very friendly esirous that one of his daughters should be united in

clars are drawn from a high character of the two brothers, in Latin, loquent cration delivered upon their funeral, by their tutor, Dr. Had-university of Cambridge. It is prefixed to Sir Thomas Wilson's et obita duorum fratrum Suffolciensium, Henrici et Caroli Brandon, n in 1552; and is extracted in the Gentleman's Magazine for Septempart ii, p. 206. Strype, in his Mem. Eccl., vol. ii., part i., pp. 492, stance in a translated form.

ol. H., part i., pp. 491, 492.

marriage to one of her sons, probably the eldest. Such a ur the duchess personally, would have been quite agreeable, I parties chiefly interested being too young for entering into t lation, she wished both of them to be left to their own choice out any attempts being made to force their inclinations. S writes on the subject to William Cecil, afterwards the cell Lord Burghley, with whom, 1 as well as with his learned lad dred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, she was on most familiar -" And where it pleased my lord of Warwick," for the better of his friendship, to wish my lord of Somerset to go through w son for his daughter, I trust the friendship between my Lord set and me hath been tried such, and hath so good assurance the simple respects of our good-will only, that we shall not nee anything rashly or unorderly to make the world to believe the of our friendships; and for the one of us to think well of the no unadvised bond between a boy and girl can give such as of good-will as hath been tried already; and now, they marry our orders, and without their consents, or as they be yet v judgment to give such a consent as ought to be given in mate I cannot tell what more unkindness one of us might show a or wherein we might work more wickedly, than to bring our c into so miserable estate not to choose, by their own likings, they must profess so strait a bond and so great a love to fe

^{1 &}quot;The duchess," says Tytler, "seems to have consulted Cecil upon every importance concerning the management of her family and estates, and her concern with this great man might of itself form a small volume. Her letters as and often humorous; full of domestic details, for she appears to have been a housewife; but occasionally throwing glimpses of light upon the history of the —Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, vol. i., p. 280. In one of these letters a dated 27th April, 1550, she praises him as an arbiter or judge who could lot to the equity of the case, and scorn "to break justice's head for friendshi another to him, dated 18th May, 1550, she represents the privy council as tribunal, whose favourable judgment, in a worldly affair of her own, could secured by bribery; or, in her own expressive language, when she "follow "onset" of her friends in her behalf "with her letters in battle, and her mone rearward."—Ibid.

² John Dudley, afterwards Earl of Northumberland.

rise you, I have said for my lord's daughter as well as for this more I say for myself, and I say it not but truly, e this day living that I rather wish my son than she, ot, because I like her best, therefore desirous that she ustrained by her friends to have him, whom she might, e, not like so well as I like her; neither can I yet assure y son's liking, neither do I greatly mistrust it, for if he right judgment, then shall he, I am sure, have no cause xcept he think himself misliked; but to have this matter pass were that we parents kept still our friendship, and sildren to follow our examples, and to begin their loves s, without our forcing; for, although both might happen at to their parents, and marry at our pleasures, and so cause to mislike, but that by our power they lost their whereby neither of them can think themselves so much the other, th [at] fault is sufficient to break the greatest fore I will make much of my lady's daughter, without f my son's cause, and it may please my lord to love my nother's sake, and so I doubt not, but if God do not mison and his daughter shall much better like it to make er themselves, and let them even alone with it, saying good agreement happen between them that we shall if it should not happen well, there is neither they nor hall blame another. And so, my good Cecil, being weary, to the Lord.-From Kingston, the 9th of May, [1550]. "K. SUFFOLK.

dend Master Cecil."1

themselves to England during the reign of Edward VI.

es were numerous, and consisted of Germans, French,
miards, Poles, some of whom had come to England for
purposes, but the greater part of whom had fled hither
persecutions then raging in their respective countries,

l's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Britain, vol. iii., p. 246.

and to enjoy the liberty of professing the Protestant religion. They formed themselves into distinct congregations, obtained suitable churches in which to assemble for divine worship, and chose pastors to instruct and preside over them. They were fostered by the English Reformers and government, from motives both of Christian charity and Christian policy, presenting, as they did, the prespect of becoming instrumental in diffusing among their own countrymen the reformed religion, in the event of their returning to their respective homes.2 Of all the foreign Protestants, Martin Bucer, to whose care the duchess had recommended her sons when studying at the university of Cambridge, was the man, the lustre of whose talents and Christian graces had called forth her profoundest admiration and esteem. This eminent man, during the time of her residence at Cambridge with her sons, was seized with his last illness, and, during the whole period of its continuance, she watched by his sick-bed with unwearied care, administering every comfort which his situation required, performing every office and undergoing every fatigue which might be expected from the tender and self-denied affection of a mother; hoping that, by the blessing of God, she might be made the means of preserving a life so valuable to the church, or, if death was determined, that by her unremitting attentions she might contribute to mitigate his sufferings, till the fatal struggle was over.3 The freedom of the duchess in launching the barbed shafts of her ridicule against Bishop Gardiner, may, to the superficial thinker, invest her character with the appearance of severity, though, in reality, this proceeded from an acute sensibility of heart, from an intense abhorrence of persecution, prompting her to employ a talent with which she was endued to brand with scorn the persecutor; but, when we enter the sick-chamber of the venerable

² At the time of the issuing of the proclamation by Queen Mary's government, in the beginning of her reign, commanding all foreigners to quit the kingdom, they numbered, according to the testimony of a Spanish Jesuit who was then in England, more than 30,000.—Turner's Modern Hist. of England, vol. iii., p. 463.

² Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 234.

³ Melchior Adam., p. 221.

d see her personally attending him by day and by night, his wants by her assiduous ministry, reaching the healing propping his head, smoothing his pillow, wiping from his the cold dews of death, whispering in his ears the consothe gospel, and doing everything that a fellow-creature o soften the agonies of his dying bed, all must admit that abours of love she displayed the deep tenderness of her

Bucer was, indeed, a man of such amiable character, that upon the hearts of all the good. The beautiful letter y Peter Martyr to Conrad Hubert, of Strasburg, on the f Bucer's death, which took place February 28, 1551,1 may gred as expressing the sentiments and feelings of this lady, the sentiments and feelings of all who knew that illustrimer :- Bucer "has now departed in peace to our God and Jesus, to the universal regret of all good men, and to my sorrow. I am so broken and dismayed by his death, as nutilated of more than half of myself, and that the better . This most estimable doctor and father was lent to d for a time, to be recalled at his good pleasure. It is our to find fault with his judgments, but to appeal to his comand diligently entreat him, by earnest and persevering hat in the room of those soldiers who have finished their and whom he is, from time to time, continuing to discharge he would again supply the now empty ranks with valiant O wretched me! as long as Bucer was in England, or

It lived together in Germany, I never felt myself to be in but now I plainly seem to myself to be alone and desolate.

I have had a faithful companion in that road in which we he of us so unitedly walking. I am now torn asunder from the same mind with myself, and who was truly after my rt, by this most bitter death which has taken him off. Truly defended the Lord has touched me. He still lives and is in the nt of the most delightful fruits of his labours; he is trans-

¹ The letter is dated Oxford, March 8, 1551.

into sorrow by the death of her two s sickness,² on the 16th of July that ye place at Bugden, the Bishop of Line youths had retired to escape the sic with great severity, and carried off mu many parts of England, and especially arrival they were taken ill. It is rema Duke Henry, when at supper, being the worthy lady sitting at the table, and with a maternal affection, "Where she "Either in this house, I hope, my lord,

1 Zurich Letters, first series, pp. 490, 491. 2 This dreaded disease, so remarkable for the rapidity of its fatal issue, first appeared in the ar at Milford, out of France, on the 7th of August, a fourth time in 1528; and a fifth time in 1551. is called "the posting sweat," because it posted "the hot sickness," and "stop-gallant," as it spa mortal, that some who were dancing in the coun -Note of Editor of Henry Machyn's Diary, Cam The manner of its attack was this: "It first aff with inward heat and burning, unquenchable thi and heart (though seldom vomiting), headache, d drowsiness. The pulse became quick and vehem ing."-Dr. Frieud's History of Physic, vol. ii., p. Learned British Ladies, p. 50. "We have a litt the French ambassador, resident in London due

e friend of yours." "By no means," said he, as if he had premonition of his approaching death, "for never after we sup here together." At these words the lady became on observing which he, smiling, bade her not be dismayed. be evening his mother, feeling upon her spirit a more than xiety about her children, came to Bugden, immediately ch he fell ill of the sweating-sickness, and suffered greatly burning heat of the disease. With the assistance of a she used every means for his recovery, but all was in raging malady was not to be arrested, and in five hours corpse. Charles, the younger brother, had been similarly and he was placed in a bed-chamber distant from that in brother lay. His brother's death was concealed from him, the manner of those about him, he suspected what had and was observed to be more than usually thoughtful. ked by the physician upon what he was meditating, he I am thinking how hard it is to be deprived of one's dear-." Why do you say so ?" said the physician. He answered, n you ask me? My brother is dead, but it matters not, oon follow him." And so he did, having survived his nly about half an hour.2

this severe bereavement, the loss of her only children, and undenly and unexpectedly, the afflicted mother bore up istian fortitude, and displayed a becoming spirit of pious n to the will of God. From many friends she received kind condolence, and was very generally sympathized with. h of these noblemen excited at the time extraordinary partly in consequence of their youth and rank, their excelacter, and promising talents, and partly from the circum-

Machyn, in his Diary, p. 8, is mistaken in two particulars, when he says feed "both in one bed," in Cambridgeshire. The Bishop of Lincoln's Bugden, at which they died, is in the county of Huntingdon; and they "is one bed." Strype, in his Mem. Eccl., vol. ii., part i., p. 491, also invest that they "died both in one bed."

mas Wilson's Epistola de Vita, &c., formerly quoted.

in high encomiums.1 Several weeks after had been performed to her children's expresses her resigned and pious feeling wrote to her friend, William Cecil: " Master Cecil, for all His benefits which heap upon me, and truly I take this, sight most sharp and bitter) punishmen benefits, inasmuch as I have never been s before to know His power, His love and r and that wretched estate that without I And, to ascertain you that I have receive would gladly do it by talk and sight of y myself no better than flesh, so I am no behold my very friends without some p Adam, to seem sorry for that whereof I rejoice; yet, notwithstanding, I would not but I would gladly endure it, were it not moveth me so to do, which I leave unwri to fulfil your last request to-morrow by se Then, if it please you, you may use him th

to them, all breathing a spirit of affection

¹ Among these tributes, besides Sir Thomas Wi various epigrams in Latin and Greek, by learned me

ith many thanks for your lasting friendship, I betake you at both can, and, I trust, will govern you to His glory and contentation.

rimsthorpe, this present Monday, your poorest but asd, "K. Suffolk.

ster Secretary Cecil."1

Endorsed "September, 1551."

etual remembrance of her two sons," who had studied at College, Cambridge, the duchess appropriated £6, 13s. 4d. towards the maintenance of four scholars in that college.2 the close of the reign of Edward VI., or in the begine reign of Queen Mary, she married secondly Richard gentleman in her service, and, like herself, a Protestant. r inferior in rank, he was of a good family, and a man of haracter, as well as of high accomplishments. His proriginally came from Bertiland, in Prussia, into England of its first invasion by the Saxons, and in reward of their seived from one of the Saxon monarchs the gift of a castle called, from the family name, Bertiestad, now Bersted, stone, in Kent; Sted or Stad denoting, in the Saxon own. His father, Thomas Bertie, of Bersted, was captain lastle, in the Isle of Wight, during the latter part of the Ienry VII., and was alive in the reign of Edward VI. as educated in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and afterer Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, Lord High of England. In addition to his other acquirements, he d in the French, Italian, and Latin tongues.3

eign of Queen Mary, the duchess identified herself with ng Reformers, and relieved their wants by bountiful con-Bishop Ridley, who had been thrown into prison on the

od's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol. iii, p. 253. In this cold other letters of the duchess are inserted.

22"s History of the University of Cambridge, vol. ii., p. 87.

24"ceruge of England, vol. ii., pp. 1, 2.

accession of that princess, in a letter to Augustine Berneher fully acknowledges his having received a liberal sum of mo to him by her, and says, that as he did not require it, he had it over to a "brother" in need, probably Bishop Latimer, also been imprisoned. "Brother Augustine, I thank you manifold kindness. I have received my lady's grace's a royals,3 six shillings and eight pence. I have written a let unto her grace, but I have made no mention thereof; whe desire you to render her grace hearty thanks. Blessed be for myself I want nothing, but my lady's alms cometh la relieve my poor brother's necessity, whom you know they ! and keep in prison; as I suppose, you know the cause why well, brother Austin, and take good heed, I pray you, and brother's case make you the more wary. Read my lette lady's grace. I would Mrs. Wilkinson and Mrs. Warcu copy of it; for although the letter is directed to my lad alone, yet the matter thereof pertaineth indifferently to h and to all good women, which love God and his Word in truth .- Yours in Christ,

But not only did the duchess sympathize with the pe Reformers during Queen Mary's reign, and relieve their no by her pecuniary liberality; she also, by her personal suffering same cause, became their "companion in tribulation and in the dom and patience of Jesus Christ."

When Mary, upon her accession, re-established the n duchess, who for many years past had ceased to countena her presence this idolatrous service, as well as other Popish r

¹ The letter is in Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs. It is also prin Ridley's Letters, Parker Society Publications, p. 382.

^{2 &}quot;This alms was sent him by the Lady Katharine, Duchess of Suffolk, t wrote again a worthy letter, which is lost, and many others, written both t others."—Mr. Coverdale's note on margin.

³ Rial or royal, a gold coin worth, in 1 Henry VIII., 11s. 3d.; in 2 Ed. VI and 2 Elizabeth, 15s.—Ed. At the period referred to in the text, the value was fifteen times greater than at present. The sum communicated would the equal to about £65, 15s. of our present money.

her mind not to attend the celebration of mass, at whatever This was a proof of no small heroism. Of the extent of the e would thus incur she was not ignorant. She anticipated the re of the queen, who was universally known to be one of the stical devotees of Popery, though at the commencement of she was prevented, from various causes, from going the which she afterwards went, when, quenching every feeling ity in her breast, she relentlessly persecuted to the death ned confessors. Should the queen, however, be so tolerant nit her to act in conformity with her judgment and conhe had another ground for apprehension, arising from the Bishop Gardiner, her mortal enemy, whose sway at court me. By her bitter sarcasms she had exasperated the bishop, often ruminated on them as on so many insults, chafed and ; and now, when he was exalted to power, she had every expect that he would make her nonconformity the pretext ting the long meditated vengeance. But these consideranot subdue her resolution. She had counted the cost, and ared to make every sacrifice in the cause of truth. Hence st attaching to her subsequent life, the real story of which anced," to use the language of Fuller, "the fictions of many venturers."

perhaps, be supposed that from her high rank she would from the malicious intentions of Gardiner. But a slight to the policy as well as the character of that prelate will groundlessness of such a supposition. Not only the spirit e, but policy impelled him to meditate her ruin; for he conat the most effectual means of arresting the progress of e of extinguishing it altogether, was by striking down the most distinguished for rank or talent, or "the head deer" ek, as was the phrase at the time.

nereased the danger of the duchess from Gardiner's cruelty raft and dissimulation. "His malice," says Fuller, "was is commonly said of white powder, which surely discharged the bullet, yet made no report, being secret in all his acts of or This made him often chide Bonner, calling him ass, though much for killing poor people as for not doing it more cunningly

Gardiner first resolved to be revenged upon the duchess in the son of her husband, Mr. Richard Bertie. In the time of Lent, being then lord chancellor, he sent strict orders to the sheriff of colnshire to arrest him immediately, and, without accepting biring him up a prisoner to London. Mr. Bertie, unconscit having committed any offence against the queen or the govern could conceive of no ground for this strange proceeding, exceptions.



Remains of Winchester House,

of religion. The sheriff, however, who was favourably dispo wards him, notwithstanding the strict orders he had received, of sending him up to London a prisoner, required of him only with two sureties, securing, under a penalty of a thousand p

1 Worthies of England, vol. ii., pp. 331, 332.

ould appear before the bishop on the Good Friday following. is proceeded on his journey to London, and, on the day apmade his appearance at Gardiner's residence. The bishop, ring passion, at once accosted him thus:—"How could you, subject, dare be so arrogant as to set at nought two citate queen?" Mr. Bertie denied that these citations had ever is hands. "Yea, truly," said Gardiner, "I have sent you can to appear immediately, and I am sure you received I intrusted them to the solicitor. I shall make you an exall Lincolnshire, for your obstinacy."

e not received any of them," said Bertie, "and I humbly lordship to suspend your displeasure and the punishment are good evidence thereof, and then, if you please, you may e penalty if any fault has been committed."

returned the bishop, "I have set apart this day, from its or devotion, and I will not farther trouble myself with you; go you, under the pain of a thousand pounds, not to depart ave, and to be here again to-morrow morning at seven

morrow Bertie was in waiting exactly at the appointed diner had with him at the time Sergeant Stampford, whom gated concerning Bertie. The sergeant, who personally tie, from having been in the service of the late Lord ey, Chancellor of England, with whom Bertie was brought a highly favourable testimony to the excellence of his chalardiner then caused Bertie to be brought in, and though round upon which he meant to fasten a quarrel upon him Protestant religion of the duchess, yet, as his manner was our to gain his ends, not directly, but by secret and circuit-ds—as "his strength and skill lay in fetching a compass, rations of a hawk before pouncing on his prey"—he at first to have an entirely different object in view. "The queen's said he, "is that you shall make present payment of four Winchester House, in Southwark, where Gardiner lived in great style.

thousand pounds, due to her father by Duke Charles, late hust the duchess, your wife, whose executor she was."

"May it please your lordship," replied Bertie, "that debt is led, and, according to that estallment, truly answered."

"Tush," rejoined Gardiner, contemptuously, "the queen was be bound to estallments in the time of Kett's government, sesteem the late government to have been." In other wo reckoned the government of Edward VI. no better than rebe

"The estallment," returned Bertie, "was appointed by King VIII., and it was confirmed by special commissioners in Ki ward's time; the lord treasurer, who is executor also to the Charles, solely and wholly taking upon him before the said c sioners to discharge the same."

Gardiner now artfully passes from the pretended object for he had summoned Bertie, to the real one. "If what you say! I will show you favour. But of another thing, Mr. Bertie admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your ryet I hardly can think evil of you whose mother I know to godly and catholic as any within all England, and who were but with a master staunch in the faith, and educated by mysel sides, I partly know you myself, and partly have learned for friends enough to make me your friend. I will not, therefore of you. But I pray you, if I may ask the question, as to myour wife, is she now as ready to set up the mass as she was to pull it down, when, in her progress, she caused a dog in a to be carried and called by my name? Or does she think he now safe enough, she who said to me, when I veiled my bother out of my chamber window in the Tower, that it was mer.

¹ Kett was a rich tanner, who headed a numerous body of insurgents in N the accession of Edward VI. to the throne. Taking possession of Norwich, his station on a hill in the neighbourhood, and under an oak there, which I the Oak of Reformation, he assumed the titles of King of Norfolk and Suffolk successfully repelling several attempts of the king's troops to force the city wich, he was at last totally defeated, and, being taken prisoner, was hung in a the top of Norwich Castle.

ow when the wolf was shut up? At another time, when husband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, y lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place my lady, your wife, taking me by the hand, as my lord have her to take himself, said, that as she could not sit my lord, whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom orst." Here Gardiner brings out the chief cause of his my against the duchess. His hatred of her for the keenirony was, perhaps, a more intense and deadly feeling entment against her on account of her Protestant prin-

espect to the device of the dog," answered Bertie, "it inated with her nor had her permission. And as to the of mass, which she learned inwardly to abhor, by the ments of divers learned men of worth, as well as by unient and order, during the past six years, were she outliew it, she should both show herself a false Christian to a dissembling subject to her prince. You know, my lord, ormed by judgment is more worth than a thousand temnformists. To force a confession of religion from the rary to what is in the heart, worketh damnation where pretended."

dy," said Gardiner, "that reasoning would be cogent were d to renounce an old religion for a new. But now she is om a new to an ancient religion, wherein, when she made up, she was as earnest as any."

hat, my lord," replied Bertie, "not long since she answered hers, using your lordship's words, that religion went not by truth. She was, therefore, to be turned by persuasion, mandment."

you," asked Gardiner, insinuatingly, "do you think it persuade her?"

rily," answered Bertie, "with the truth, for she is reaugh," "It will be exceedingly grieving to the Prince of Spair Gardiner, deploringly, "and to all the nobility who shall con him to this country, when they shall find only two noble per of the Spanish race within this kingdom, the queen, and my lad wife, and one of them departed from the faith."

"I trust," replied Bertie, "that they shall find no fruits delity in her."

The bishop then strongly urged Bertie to labour earnestly t a change in the religious sentiments of the duchess, and, wi professions and promises of friendship, released him from h for further appearance.

Bertie was too sincere a Protestant to attempt to make the believe to be truth what he himself believed to be a lie; and not hold her religious principles so cheap as to renounce then dictation of a bishop, for whose character and integrity she respect.

Convinced from this examination that Gardiner had been ing evil against her, and warned by her friends of his purpos her to account for her faith, whereby extremity might follow. Mr. Bertie resolved on making their escape to the continer Bertie had a ready pretext for going abroad, namely, to recov sums of money due to the late Duke of Suffolk (one of whos tors the duchess was) on the continent, Charles V. being one He communicated his intention to Gardiner, ol that he considered the present a very favourable opportu dealing with the emperor, who, to forward the projected n between the queen and his son, would not refuse to satisfy so able a claim, in order to gain favour with the English. "I li device well," said Gardiner, "but I think that it would be be you to remain in England till the prince's arrival, for then procure you his letters also to his father." "Begging your lo pardon for my freedom of speech," returned Bertie, respecti think it will then be a less favourable time, for after the con

¹ Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii., pp. 560, &c.

the marriage, the emperor's wishes being accomplished, he have the same motive for pleasing the English." "By St. said Gardiner, smiling, "you guess shrewdly; well, proceed suit to the queen, and I shall not fail to lend you my assist-Gardiner for once was outwitted. Never dreaming, it appear, that this was a plan by which the duchess was to im fangs, he assisted Bertie in obtaining the queen's license, ling him to pass to and return from the continent as often as a, till he had fully settled his business. This was obtained in ays, and he sailed from Dover about the beginning of June, aving the duchess, in the meantime, behind him.

id been agreed between them, the duchess, with her infant r, who was a year old, attended by seven servants, namely, a who was a Greek by birth, a joiner, a brewer, a fool, a cook, a oman, and a laundress, followed him in the beginning of next year. These servants were the humblest in her house; did not ask the higher class of her servants to accompany her, il whether they would be willing to share the perils of her . To prevent discovery, they were not made privy to her till immediately before, and none was made privy to it with option of a trustworthy old gentleman, Mr. Robert Cranwell, Bertie, previously to his departure, had specially engaged to duchess in her flight. Having got everything in readiness, her house in London, called the Barbican, between four and lock in the morning, with her child and servants. At the of her issuing from the gate, one of the male servants, Atkinson, whom some noise, caused by her preparation, had sme out with a torch in his hand. Afraid of detection, she stmanteau, containing food and clothes for her child, in the me, and commanded all her attendants, with the exception entlewoman and laundress, to proceed with haste before her Quay, where all were to take boat. They did so, leaving her two women, with the child, to follow.

iving that Atkinson, though he saw nobody, was following

in the direction in which she was going, she hurried into C House, near by, to conceal herself, until, all being again querturned to the house, when she proceeded on her journey. Shabited in the garb of a mean merchant's wife, and her servant the dress of the lowest in their condition of life. Though not them knew the way to Sion Quay, and the servants, who had before, having separated, were in great risk of losing one any yet all of them happily met together, about the same time, with short distance of Moorgate, whence they went directly to Sion. The morning was so misty that the boatman was only precupon to launch by urgent entreaties. On that very day the or received intelligence of her flight, and some of them immed proceeded to her house to make inquiries, and took an inventable goods. Measures were also adopted for apprehending her to she should leave the country.

On her arrival at Leigh, a town at the Land's-end, that is, o Essex shore, whither the report of her flight had spread befor Cranwell brought her to the house of a London merchant, one old acquaintances, Mr. Gosling, to whom the whole secret wa vealed. At this hospitable mansion, which was in the neigh hood of the town, she remained for some time under a fict name, waiting for the sailing of the vessel, and employed herse making new clothes for her daughter. The night before her er kation she slept at an inn in Leigh, where she narrowly escape covery. Wind and tide being favourable, the fugitives embe but the weather afterwards becoming less propitious, they were carried into the open sea, almost to the coast of Zealand, and s were driven back to the place whence they sailed. On this last sion, it being suspected that the duchess was in the vessel, i intended to search it; but one of her man-servants, who went a for fresh provisions, having been examined, he succeeded, by hi parently simple, ingenuous account, in producing the impression the lady on board, who was suspected of being the duchess, was a mean merchant's wife, and no search was made. Again se

Netherlands, the vessel landed safely with its cargo in

who thought none equalled him in well-contrived cirtagem, now found that even in this accomplishment he timastered by Mr. Bertie and the duchess. By the sucnich they had carried into effect their preconcerted design, irly out-Gardinered Gardiner, leaving him mortified and h wrath at the escape of a lady by whom he had been mubbed for his persecuting cruelty.

ckland, in her Queens of England, expresses astonishment ht of the duchess to the continent should be attributed to ant principles. She maintains that the duchess did not iate from the old religion, and that the real cause of her he disfavour into which she had fallen with Mary in conher marriage with Richard Bertie, a man much below "This lady," says she, "is placed as a victim in the es! but there is something suppressed in that statement, who were farther from the ancient church than ever the Suffolk was-such as Lady Bacon and her sisters, and the of the Protector Somerset-were in offices about the son; and it is plain, by the marginal notes in Kathawork, which she published, that she approved of the celiclergy! And if these were her tenets in the reign of he inference is reasonable that love, not religion, was the r quarrel with Queen Mary. Speed uses these words atroduction of Foxe's narrative of this lady's exile : 'The Suffolk was in disgrace with the queen for marrying Mr. in too inferior for her estate." The probable reason of r's displeasure was because the Duchess of Suffolk was of nt, and was a relative of Katharine of Aragon by her dy Mary de Salines, a descendant of the house of De therefore concludes, that "the flight of the Dowager of

I Foxe's Acts and Manuments, vol. vm., pp. 659-576.

² Speed's History, 1125.

Suffolk to the continent seems to have originated as much from her stolen match with Richard Bertie as on a religious account."

Thus would Miss Strickland rob the duchess of the honour of suffering for the Protestant religion; but her attempt is without success. Her insinuation that the duchess had not receded far from the Popish Church cannot be admitted. There is no good ground for asserting that she was less removed from Popery than Lady Bacon and the other ladies referred to. We know that at least one of these ladies, namely, Lady Burghley,2 conformed to Popery on the accession of Mary to the throne, which the Duchess of Suffolk never did. And, in regard to "the marginal notes," or rather note, as to clerical celibacy, inserted by or with the sanction of the duchess, in Katharine Parr's work, published in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we have formerly seen that this note affords no proof that she approved of clerical celibacy. But were we even to grant that it did, this would only show that the whole truth had not beamed upon her mind; that, though she had shaken off and abhorred the system of Popery, still she was entangled by one of the Popish tenets, the falsehood of which, though branded in Scripture as the "doctrine of devils," she had not discovered, a case by no means uncommon.

Not less incorrect is Miss Strickland in affirming that this lady has obtained a place in the martyrology of the Protestant Church by the suppression of a part of the truth. So far is this from being the case, that it is, on the contrary, only by a suppression of a part of the truth that she can be excluded. In order to secure for her a place in Protestant martyrology, it is not necessary to conceal or to deny the fact that she had incurred the displeasure of the queen by her marrying a person inferior to herself in point of rank; but the royal displeasure against her on that account was not the main cause of her flight. This was her dread of her bitter enemy, Bishop Gardiner, who was now in power, and who was conspiring her destruction; a fact which Miss Strickland keeps altogether out of view, thus commit-

¹ Queens of England, vol. v., p. 420.

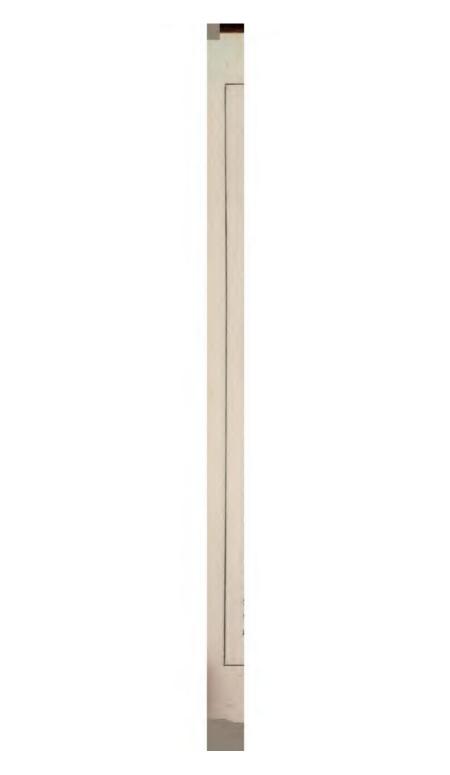
³ See Life of Katharine Parr, p. 302,

² See Life of Lady Burghley.

tof the vindictive character of Gardiner; she had learned was plotting against her, and had determined to make her antism the pretext for wreaking his vengeance upon her head; owing this, she judged it prudent to make her escape, the specially as the disgrace in which she was at the court of an account of her marriage, would give Gardiner a greater age against her, an advantage which a man like him, who are all circumstances to a positive account in furtherance of views, would not fail to take.

turn to our narrative: having landed in Brabant, the duchess servant-women provided themselves with apparel similar to en by the women of the country. She and Mr. Bertie then ed towards the territory of the Duke of Cleves, in a town of called Santon, they rented a house for a short time, until they are to look out for a secure and permanent residence. They rds thought of settling at a town about five miles distant from named Wesel, situated on the Rhine, and also under the tion of the Duke of Cleves. This was one of the Hanse towns, mjoyed the privileges of the Steel-yard Company in London. numbers of the Walloons, professing the reformed religion, d to escape persecution; and they had for their minister Perusell, who then went under the assumed name of Francis Through this minister, who had been for some time in d, where he had received kind attentions from the duchess, rtie, while yet at Santon, obtained letters of protection from gistrates of Wesel, in the prospect of his removing permato that town. The duchess was known only to the chief rate, who was her warm friend. Had she been known to the nagistrates, who were not very favourably disposed towards ormed religion, the letters of protection would, on that account, en less easily obtained.

imstances drove the strangers sooner from Santon than they plated, a report having got abroad in the town that the duchess



and night overtaking them, Mr. Bertie and the duchess two servants to the villages, as they passed, to hire a car, nore speedy and comfortable conveyance, but none could be he travellers had to make their way, as they best could, on Bertie carried the child, while the duchess carried his rapier. They arrived at Wesel between six and seven the evening, which was very dark. But their hardships ret ended. Every place of shelter seemed to be shut against hey went from inn to inn, offering liberal payment for small lations, but were refused by all the innkeepers, who sustr. Bertie of being a knight-errant, and the duchess of mistress. From cold and want of food the child cried and the mother wept bitterly, while the rain descended in

thospitably driven from every door, Mr. Bertie resolved to wife, their child, and the servants, to the porch of the great the town, and to purchase coals, victuals, and straw, that might warm themselves and partake of some refreshment that provide them with better accommodation; or, if such be procured, that they might there spend that miserable e had then but a very imperfect knowledge of the German and, from the badness of the weather and the lateness of he could not fall in with any individual able to speak french, Italian, or Latin. At last, however, in going to-church-porch with his wife and their child, he heard two ersing together in Latin. He made up to them, and speak-t language, offered them two stivers if they would conduct house of a Walloon.

thouse to which, by the assistance of the youths, he and as, with their daughter, were providentially brought, was Walloon with whom Perusell, who had procured them letotection from the magistrates of the town, was supping that at the first knock the master of the house answered, and he door, inquired at Mr. Bertie who he was. "An Englishman," replied Bertie, "who am seeking for Mr. Perusell's house." The Walloon, desiring him to stay for a moment at the door, went into the house, and told Perusell that the very English gentleman of whom they had been talking at supper had sent a person, very probably his servant, to speak with him. Perusell, coming to the door, was surprised to see Mr. Bertie and the duchess in so wretched a plight, weather-beaten, fatigued, and cold, their faces and dress deformed with mud; and all of them were so affected that they could not for some time speak to one another for tears. At last recovering themselves, they interchanged mutual salutations. The strangers were set down at a good fire, food was placed before them, and everything done to make them comfortable. Mr. Bertie exchanged his apparel with the master of the house, the duchess with the mistress, and the infant daughter with the child of the house. We can easily conceive that the great theme of conversation, on this evening, would be the disastrous change which had come over the church and nation of England.

A few days after, by the good services of Mr. Perusell, the illustrious refugees hired a suitable house in the church-porch of Willebrode, in Wesel. The news of their inhospitable treatment by the innkeepers had by this time spread through the whole town, and on the Sabbath following a preacher from the pulpit openly and severely censured this instance of incivility towards strangers, quoting various passages from Scripture to show that the hospitable have sometimes been rewarded, not only by their entertaining princes under the disguise of private persons, but even angels, who had appeared in the form of men, and that God, as a punishment, might one day cause them to know from experience the afflicted heart of a stranger, by making them strangers in a foreign land.

While residing at Wesel the duchess was delivered of a son, on the 12th of October, 1555. In token of their gratitude to God, for thus giving them a son when exiles in a foreign country, she and Mr. Bertie named him Peregrine—a name which, being associated

¹ Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii., pp. 569-576.

D.

e historic records of the family, with its fireside traditions, e heroic virtues of illustrious ancestors, was borne by various escendants in after generations. His birth and baptism are in the register of the city of Wesel. The entry, which is n, and dated 20th November, 1555, may be translated as In the year 1555 from the birth of Christ our Saviour, the 5523d from the beginning of the world, and the thirtyfrom the restoration of the doctrine of the gospel by Mr. Luther, on Saturday, the 12th of October, the most illustriy Katharine, Baroness of Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, in gdom of England, wife of the most illustrious Mr. Richard of Eresby, from England, was, by the Divine favour, in this of Wesel, in the duchy of Cleves, safely delivered of a son, the first Monday thereafter, namely, on the 14th of the same was baptized in our church, in the suburbs called Upter by Henry Bomelius, minister of that church, under the Peregine, because he was given by the Lord to his pious in a foreign land, 1 for the comfort of their exile."2

Mary's ecclesiastical policy, upon her accession, in overge the Reformation, and in re-establishing the Popish relir Protestant subjects foreboded times of severe persecution, scape the threatened storm, many of them, both clergy and lowed the example of the duchess, by fleeing into foreign and Often with great difficulty did they effect their flightations had been issued forbidding their removal, and officers at to intercept fugitives. But, by watching for opportuni-

a Peregrina.

"Peerage of England, vol. ii., p. 5. A stone, with an inscription commemohe hirth of this boy, who afterwards distinguished himself in the service of
y, and whose posterity increased in honours, was placed at the east entrance
th of the church of St. Willebrode, in Wesel. This stone having been dehe destroying hand of time, and by military violence, one of his descendants,
d Germany as royal ambassador, towards the close of the reign of Charles II.,
on of his memory, and proud of ancestors who had been honoured to suffer
Protestant religion, caused another stone to be substituted in its place,
a appropriate Latin inscription.—See the inscription in Collins' Peerage of
vol. ii., p. 6.

ties, and by the favour of several masters of small vessels upo coasts, they eluded the vigilance of the government, and made their escape. Many of them fled to Strasburg in France; F fort in Germany; Emden in Friesland; Duisburg, a town of derland in Holland; Basle, Zurich, Berne, Lausanne, Araw Geneva in Switzerland, where they met with a generous rece and obtained the liberty of their religious worship. In asylums some prosecuted their studies, others became teach schools, some composed books, others found scope for their in at the printing presses.1 The settlement of the duchess ar husband at Wesel being known, this drew thither a consid number of English Protestant refugees, not less than a hundre believed. Myles Coverdale, celebrated for his translation Scriptures into English, who had lately left England for Det appeared among them early in the spring of 1555, having from Denmark, and continued to officiate as preacher to the the beginning of September following.2

The only Protestant places where the English exiles were in tably treated were Denmark, Saxony, and other parts of Ge in which Lutheranism was professed. It might have been ex that the Lutherans would have welcomed them as dearly be brethren in the Lord—as exiles "for the Word of God and testimony of Jesus Christ." But it was not so. Like the Reformer, their founder, they maintained the untenable and telligible doctrine of consubstantiation, and clinging to it as naciously as if it involved the very essence of Christianity, they hold fellowship with none who hesitated to adopt this Shibbo their party. Such they scarcely would acknowledge as Christ all, and, in expression of their hostility and contempt, be them with the nicknames of heretics, false prophets, Sucr Sacrimentaries, Sacramentiperdas. The English exiles, denyi

¹ Strype's Memorials of Arch. Cranmer, pp. 353-356.

² Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. ii., part i., p. 410.—Anderson's Annals of the Bible, vol. ii., pp. 287, 295.

of consubstantiation, and following the views of Zwingle as crament of the Supper, were on this account refused shelter utherans, who would not suffer them to land on their shores, rudely expelled from their cities such of them as had found y thither. Such was the intolerance of the Lutherans the English exiles, that they were not in a disposition to reason or remonstrance on this point. Should any of their influenced by more liberal views and by a more compaseart, inculcate lenity, forbearance, and sympathy, he became t of clamour, reproach, and censure.1 It is exceedingly painserve this exclusive, sectarian, and rancorous spirit of the is against their suffering fellow-Protestants, simply and a difference of sentiment as to the sacrament of the Supt only was this spirit utterly unamiable, and utterly alien irit of genuine Christianity, but it was making war upon sessential principles of the Reformation-liberty of thought. of private judgment; it was the assumption of the infalthich they condemned in the Pope; it was an attempt to heir fellow-Protestants of what they themselves claimed as and to bring the reason and judgment of others into slavish n to their dictation.

uchess of Suffolk and other English refugees resident in the rere in some danger of expulsion, because they could not a to the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. The Senate, in Lutheran propensities and Lutheran intolerance, were on the point of commanding them to depart, and were only defrom doing so by the interposition of Philip Melancthon. poor exiles," said this amiable Reformer, in answer to the nunciations of some against them, "are to be retained, such cherished, not afflicted and harassed by any harsh senathe main articles of the Christian faith they are sound, and liffer from us on certain points, as they certainly do, they

^{&#}x27;s Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, pp. 353, 354.—Ruchat, Histoire de la me de la Suime, tom. vi., pp. 549-552.



now ill at ease. At his reque ferings of the Saviour being r coming to the denial of Peter, Petro, exivi cum Petro, sed denied with Peter, I have gon wept like Peter." Gardiner ment in the persecution of th Pole, who succeeded him as himself heir to the persecutiv diner died only nine months a during which time he had s deer" of the flock, Rogers, Saur ley, and Latimer. But after continued three years, under t with a ferocity not less relentl the bigoted and infatuated quee survived her not many hours. mildness and suavity of his ma have been in his intercourse w persecutors have been; but h Mary's prime minister, will r latest ages.

The Duchess of Suffolk, on 1

committed to the flames at Smithfield, she still remained entinent, waiting till Providence should send more favouris.

on discovered that in coming to this resolution she had ely. Though Gardiner had now been called to his account. nalice could no longer hurt her, yet other malignant spirits nd were conspiring her destruction. While she and Mr. ere thinking themselves happily settled at Wesel, and while of their exile was agreeably and insensibly gliding away, idenly received a friendly communication from Sir John hen Queen Mary's ambassador in the Netherlands, to the at a plot had been formed in England for arresting them; d Paget, who had gone to the baths in the direction of ad done so with this intention, and not for the benefit of his s was pretended; that Henry, Duke of Brunswick, who was mortal enemy, and would permit none of his subjects to Lutheranism, was shortly to pass by Wesel with his troops, ssistance of Austria against the French king; and that the as to intercept the duchess and her husband by means of pany. To escape the toils thus laid for them, they removed sel to Windsheim Castle, in Upper Germany, in the Pallominions. In consequence of their departure from Wesel, lish Protestant congregation in that place, many of the s of which depended upon them, was broken up and disome following them, and others proceeding to Basle.1 They Windsheim Castle, under the Palgrave's protection, till, their as failing them, they had the prospect of suffering great pri-

ese distressing circumstances, when ready to sink into delief was offered them from an unexpected quarter. Their becoming known to John A Lasco, a distinguished Proteslish nobleman, who had, during the reign of Edward VI., fuge in England from persecution, and who was personally

Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. ii., part i., p. 410.

than it was granted. Upon this assurance the duchess and Bertie, with their children and all their domestics, attended by four horsemen to protect them, left Windsheim for Poland, pril, 1557, directing their steps towards Frankfort. In their they encountered many hardships, and were even in danger of lives from a party of the landgrave's soldiers. The captain, was a man of a turbulent temper, forcing them into a quarrel t a spaniel belonging to Mr. Bertie, set upon our travellers on highway with his horsemen, who thrust their boar-spears into vaggon in which the children and female servants were travel-

A struggle ensued, in which the captain's horse was slain r him. The rumour that the landgrave's captain was murdered rtain Walloons, immediately spread through the neighbouring and villages, and exasperated the people against Mr. Bertie, in passing through one of the towns, would have been taken murdered by the townsmen and the captain's brother, had he availing himself of a ladder which he saw leaning on the window house, got up to the garret of the house, where he parried attack some time with his dagger and rapier. The burgomaster at h making his appearance, Mr. Bertie offered to surrender himfor trial, on condition of his being defended by the magistrate the fury of the multitude. Having received security to this the yielded, and was taken into custody, to wait the issue of a rial investigation.

r. Bertie then despatched letters to the landgrave and to the of Erpach, explaining the whole circumstances. On the follow-day, early in the morning, the Earl of Erpach, who resided in a distance of eight miles, repaired to the town where Mr. ie was imprisoned, and whither the duchess had been brought a her waggon. He had been previously informed who the stran-were, and he showed the duchess all the courtesy due to her rank, ch, when the townsmen observed, and understanding, besides, that captain was alive, they, as well as the authors of the fray, were used of their conduct, and wished the whole affair hushed up.

Matters being accommodated, the duchess and Mr. Bertis ceeded on their journey towards Poland, where, on their a they were kindly welcomed and treated with a princely liberal the king, who honoured them with the earldom of Crozan, in gelia. In this place they continued to reside in tranquillit honour, exercising authority in name of the king, till the de Queen Mary, when they returned to England. On their r how happy a change to the better had taken place! These rupersecutors, Gardiner, Mary, and Pole, were now in their g In their cases the triumphing of the wicked was short, an accession of Elizabeth, a Protestant queen, put an end to the a ency of Romanism in England.

In the year 1562, a series of her friend Latimer's sermons, had been preached in her hall at Grimsthorpe Castle, in 155 collected and published by Augustine Bernher, a Swiss, wh been the faithful friend and attendant of Latimer. These se were published "by the instant request of the godly learned, beit, not so fully and perfectly as they were uttered," and the dedicated by Bernher to the duchess. In the dedication, wh dated Southam, 2d October [1562], he dwells particularly upo self-devotion to the Protestant faith, which had forced her to a sanctuary on foreign shores. After adverting to the labour sufferings of Latimer, and imploring God, by his Spirit, to every faithful Christian to earnest prayer that Queen Eliz who then swayed the English sceptre, might be assisted, by I grace, in building the church, and in overthrowing wicke

² Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii., pp. 569-576.

¹ Such is the name in Foxe's Acts and Monuments; but "it may be supposed Samogitia, called in Polish Hiestivo Zmudskie, is intended."—Note of Editor.

³ This, by the way, is an additional evidence that the duchess's exile, during reign of Mary, was caused by the danger to which her Protestant principles eher, and not, as Miss Strickland affirms, solely in consequence of her stolen mate Richard Bertie. It is the testimony of a contemporary who had ample me knowing the truth, and who, from his manner, is evidently stating nothing but was generally known at the time to be true.

superstition, and idolatry in all their forms, he adds, "To the which faithful prayers, that all they which fear God may be the better mouraged, I have set forth these sermons, made by this holy man of God, and dedicated them to your grace, partly because they were preached in your grace's house at Grimsthorpe by this reverend father and faithful prophet of God, whom you did nourish, and whose doctrine you did most faithfully embrace, to the praise of God, and saspeakable comfort of all godly hearts : the which did with great admiration marvel at the excellent gifts of God, bestowed upon your grace, in giving unto you such a princely spirit, by whose power and virtue you were able to overcome the world, to forsake your possessions, lands, and goods, your worldly friends and native country, your high estate and estimation, with the which you were adorned, and to become an exile for Christ and his gospel's sake; to choose rather to suffer adversity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of the world with a wicked conscience; esteeming the rebukes of Christ greater treasures than the riches of England. Whereas the worldlings are far otherwise minded; for they have their pleasures amongst the pots of Egypt; they eat, drink, and make marry, not passing what become of Christ or his gospel; they be so drunken with the sweet delicates of this miserable world, that they will not taste of the bitter morsels which the Lord hath appointed and prepared for his chosen children, and especially friends. Of the which he did make you most graciously to taste, giving unto your grace his Spirit, that you were able in all the turmoils and grievances the which you did receive, not only at the hands of those which were your professed enemies, but also at the hands of them which pretended friendship and good-will, but secretly wrought sorrow and mischief, to be quiet and patient, and in the end brought your grace home again into your native country; no doubt to no ther end but that you should be a comfort unto the comfortless, and an instrument by the which his holy name should be praised, and his gospel propagated and spread abroad, to the glory of his boly name, and your eternal comfort in Christ Jesus; unto



daughter and the son already married to Reginald Grey, Ea John Wingfield. The son, P year of the reign of Elizabeth, On the death of his mother he Willoughby of Eresby, wearin in all respects as a baron; and was admitted to this dignity an Lord Burghley, Lord High To queen. He was distinguished talents. He is described by S queen's first swordsmen, and a In 1587, at the seige of Zutphen the forces of that garrison, as mander-in-chief of the horse a upon the resignation of the I general of the English auxilia where he gathered fresh milits France with an army of 4000 varre, who, in a letter to Queer gium upon him, and upon the may, madam, be entirely satist illy served by your troops, and have had such convincing of the good conduct and courage of the Lord Willoughby, who hily seconded by all the other gentlemen, your subjects here, ey more and more do honour to your judgment in your choice , and increase the obligation I lie under already to your ma-His lordship being at Spa, in Germany, for the recovery of Ith, at the time of the threatened invasion of England by the "invincible armada," the queen wrote him, with her own friendly letter, urging him to return, that she and the country have the benefit of his military skill. He returned to England , and was made governor of Berwick in 1598. From the high opinion of him, he might have enjoyed a large share of our, had he cultivated it with the arts of a courtier. But s temper and profession as a soldier, he had an aversion to the ousness and assiduity necessary to a court life, and he used to simself that he was none of the reptilia.1

grine steadfastly maintained the Protestant principles, for his parents had suffered, and of which his very name was calto remind him. Trained up in the nurture and admonition Lord, he exhibited the ornamental deportment of the Chrisad when the sun of his life was about to set, he looked forward yful and confident anticipation to an immediate admission. eath, into the blessed presence of God, and to a glorious ction at the great day. His last will and testament, made at k, of which he was governor, and dated August 7, 1599, is able, beginning thus:- "In the name of the blessed Divine in persons, and of omnipotent unity in godhead, who created, ed, and sanctified me, whom I steadfastly believe will glorify ful, corruptible, and fleshly body with eternal happiness, by resurrection at the general judgment, when, by his incomtible justice and mercy, having satisfied for my sinful soul, and it up in his heavenly treasure, his almighty voice shall call to be joined together with the soul to everlasting comfort or

¹ Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 24.

discomfort." He concludes with these words:—"For I am sure my Redeemer liveth, and he shall stand the last upon the earth, and, though after worms destroy this body, yet shall I see God in my flesh, whom I myself shall see, and mine eyes shall behold, and no other for me, though my reins are consumed within me."

His lordship died in 1601, and, according to the desire expressed in his will, was buried in the parish church of Spilsby, where a monument was erected to his memory. He was married to Mary, daughter to John Vere, Earl of Oxford, sister and heir to Edward, seventeenth Earl of Oxford. By this lady, who survived him thirteen years, he left issue, five sons and a daughter, Katharine, married to Sir Lewis Walson, of Rockingham Castle, in the county of Northampton, afterwards Lord Rockingham. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, who was created Earl of Lindsey in the reign of Charles I.

1 Collins' Peerage, vol. ii., pp. 9-11.





ANNE DE TSERCLAS,

WIFE OF BISHOP HOOPER.

LEARNED friend, visiting Dr. Thomas Fuller, author of British Church History and of the Worthies of England, who was then residing at Cambridge, asked him the subject of his studies. "I am collecting," said Fuller, "the witnesses of the truth of the Protestant on through all ages, even in the depth of Popery, conceiving it le, though difficult, to evidence them." "It is needless pains," his friend; "for I know that I am descended from Adam, h I cannot prove my pedigree from him."1 The excellent lady om we now write was a witness to the truth of the Protestant on, and under the reign of the bloody Mary suffered severely in her dearest earthly relative. Her maiden name was Anne erclas; but in regard to her parentage, we are in Fuller's preent as to some of his Protestant witnesses-this we find it It to evidence. Our historians and biographers are conflicting her native country, and they give us no information as to her ta. Were the observation of Fuller's friend a sound one, we t dismiss all such inquiries as superfluous, and simply remind ader once for all, that our heroines sprung from the same oristock with the rest of mankind. But the observation was made secdotes and Traditions illustrative of Early English History and Literature, for Camden Society, p. 6.

more in jest than in sober earnest; for Fuller's friend was "an lent scholar, who could be humorous, and would be serious, was himself disposed." No reflecting person would seriously tain that the pains taken to ascertain the parentage of such entitled to the remembrance of posterity is useless labour. knowledge of their parentage often throws light on the format their minds, and helps to explain how their talents and char were developed and matured.

Foxe, the martyrologist, who knew that Mrs. Hooper was of worth, desired to trace her descent; and, in a letter to l Bullinger, dated Basle, June 17, 1559, he says, "I wish to whether Hooper married a wife from among you yonder, or h Basle." In his Acts and Monuments he makes her a native of gundy, a province of France; 2 but whether he derived this inf tion from Bullinger, who, no doubt, could inform him correct uncertain. Strype, in one part of his Ecclesiastical Memorials. that she was "a Helvetian woman," or a native of Switzerland another place he calls her "a discreet woman of the Low tries."4 From one of Hooper's letters to Bullinger, in 1549, wards quoted, we learn that her parents lived about fifteen from Antwerp, in the Netherlands; but whether that was the ginal place of residence or not, we are unable to determine. Wh were her parents, and whatever was the country of their na they were evidently in respectable circumstances. This may b cluded with certainty from her having received a liberal educ of which her beautiful handwriting and her knowledge of the tongue, in which such of her letters as have been preserve written, afford undoubted proofs.

On the continent she had met with John Hooper, after Dr., Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, "a great scholar an guist," who, upon the passing of the bloody act as to the s

¹ Zurich Letters, second series, p. 36.

2 Ibid., vol. vi., p. 637.

3 Ibid., vol. ii., part ii., p. 399.

4 Ibid., vol. ii., part ii., p. 170.

⁵ Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. ii., p. 280.

in the reign of Henry VIII, being exposed to peril for his stant principles, had left England and travelled in France, Ire-Holland, and Switzerland, in which latter country he lived at Basle and partly at Zurich, where he formed a lasting ship with the excellent and learned Henry Bullinger. The e date of her marriage with Hooper is uncertain. It must have place at least more than a year before they left Zurich for nd, which was in the spring of 1549; as at that time they had daughter, named Rachel, who was "cutting her teeth." On parting with Bullinger and his family, all were deeply affected. ras the endearing friendship that subsisted between them; and, s remarkable, Hooper, on that occasion, though the throne of nd was now filled by Edward VI., a reforming prince of high se, and everything augured well for the Reformation in that y, anticipated and spoke in language prophetic of his future rdom. "In all probability," said Bullinger, "King Edward aise you to a bishopric. If so, don't suffer your elevation to you forgetful of your old friend in Switzerland. Let us, from o time, have the satisfaction of hearing from you." Hooper red, "No change of place nor of station, no accession of new s, shall ever render me unmindful of yourself and my other ctors here. You may depend on my carefully corresponding rou. But it will not be in my power to write you an account last news of all; for (taking Bullinger by the hand) others aform you of my being burned to ashes in that very place in the meanwhile, I shall labour most for God and the

narrative of Mrs. Hooper's journey from Zurich to London, mpany with Mr. Hooper, their infant daughter, and one or ttendants, is given in Hooper's letters to Bullinger. On the of March, 1549, they arrived at Strasburg, where they red till the 2d of April, when they proceeded to Mayence, and

¹ Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. iii., p. 119.

² See Zurich Letters, first portion.

entered that city on the 5th, after encountering no small da sea, and finding from experience that the innkeepers between two cities were "barbarous Scythians and harsh uncivilized Leaving Mayence, they landed at Cologne, on the 11th of Ap on the 14th, starting from that city, they directed their through the barren and sandy plains of Brabant to Antwerp they reached on the 18th of the same month. At Antwe rested for some days, in order to recruit Mrs. Hooper and th who were greatly exhausted by the fatigue of the journey. their stay in that city, Mrs. Hooper wrote to her mother, w at the distance of about fifteen miles from it, sending the let messenger. Her father had recently died; but, communication much slower then than it is in our day, she knew nothing event till the messenger brought her the afflicting tiding manner in which her brother treated her letter affords an of the power of false religion in extinguishing the tenderest of the human heart. "Her mother," says Mr. Hooper, " the letter, and gave it my wife's brother to read, who imm threw it into the fire without reading it. You see the v Christ are true, that the brother shall persecute the brother sake of the word of God."1 This brother, in the depth of 1 tical blindness, was enraged that his sister had become a and the mistress of a heretical priest; for, according to the d of his church, he would not allow that she could be the w priest. He would probably have been much better conten she retired to a convent, though a clerical seraglio, or, if it was regulated, in which she would have led a useless life, manufi Agnus Deis, woollen palls for the shoulders of bishops, ar Popish trumpery; or practising self-imposed austerities, of her beads, marking herself with numerous crossings, bor images, and worshipping Popish relics; while the proper d woman-her duties as a daughter, a wife, or a mother-wer at nought. Mrs. Hooper and the child having tolerably re

¹ Zurich Letters, first series, p. 63.

rength, the small company proceeded to London, whither rived in health and safety before the close of May.

is return to England, becoming chaplain to the Duke of the Hooper laboured with indefatigable diligence as a Chrisnister, expounding the Scriptures to crowded and attentive es in and about London, once every day, often two or three and frequently preaching at court before the king and council, he exhorted with great freedom, in his Lent sermons on to effect a more thorough reformation of the church. In to Bullinger, dated London, June 25 [1549], he says, "There e persons here who read and expound the Holy Scriptures



Cld St. Peul's, London.

lecture, two of whom read in St. Paul's cathedral four L. I myself, too, as my slender abilities will allow me, assion upon the ignorance of my brethren, read a public

¹ These have been printed by the Parker Society.

lecture twice in the day, to so numerous an audience that the cannot contain them." On the 7th of April, 1550, the k the chancellor, offered him the bishopric of Gloucester. declined to accept it, among other reasons, first, because, ac to the form of the oath of supremacy,3 exacted before consecutive he would have to swear by God, the saints, and the holy g whereas he believed that in an oath God alone ought to be a to;3 and, secondly, because of his scruples as to wearing th copal dress, the "Aaronical habits," as he termed it, enjoin Parliament to be worn by whoever should be inaugurated a at his consecration, and which were also to be worn, not only administration of the sacraments, but at public prayers. garded the vestments not indeed as evil in themselves, but as matters of indifference, as they appeared to him to obser dignity of Christ's priesthood, and to foster vanity, hypocris superstition. The king and the council would have vielded scruples, and, in compliance with his request, would have crated him without any other rite of consecration than wl apostles practised, namely, the imposition of hands. But the b and particularly Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, "a most man, and in other respects a valiant defender of the gospel," a Martyr describes him, were so strong against the adoption other form of consecration than what had been prescribed by ment, making light of the use of vestments and of other cere as being mere matters of indifference, that Hooper, perseve his objections, was, January 27, 1551, committed to prison by of the privy council, who, on finding the bishops so pertir

¹ Zurich Letters, first series, p. 65.

² Fuller, when he wrote his Ecclesiastical History, had conceived the oath been that of canonical obedience, but he corrects the mistake in his Wa England, vol. ii., p. 280.

³ This oath, in the Prayer Book of 1549, ended thus: "So help me God, a and the holy evangelists." In the Prayer Book of 1552, it was altered to "So God, through Jesus Christ."—See Liturgies of Edward VI., Parker Society pp. 169, 339.

with them. About a fortnight after, overcome by the oby of the bishops, he submitted himself and his cause to the zent of the privy council, the result of which was that, on the March following, he was consecrated at Lambeth in the usual er, habited in a long scarlet chimere (furnished with sleeves of lawn) down to the foot, having under it a white linen rochet, caring upon his head a square cap. 2

income of his bishopric was 2000 crowns per annum. In the diocese of Gloucester and that of Worcester were united me by the king's letters-patent; and Hooper was constituted at bishop of the united diocese. "His adversaries will say," as Fuller, "that the refusing of one is the way to get two prices. But be it known that as our Hooper had double digue had treble diligence, painfully preaching God's Word, piously

se hishops were all zealous against Popery, why, then, so keen sticklers for mere ats, which could do nothing in the battle against Antichrist, the more especially called them matters of indifference? "We cannot fight the French," says "by three hundred thousand red uniforms; there must be men in the inside of Here was a brave-hearted, valiant, faithful, unconquerable man, prepared to the death the battles of the Lord against the Papacy, and if he did not choose in a chimere and rochet, which he thought would entangle his movements in this armour, why not allow him to fight in the homely, rough, rustic stuff, e deemed more seemly in a soldier of the cross? Ridley, who had been exviolent against Hooper before the council, on account of the vestments, afterthen both were imprisoned in the reign of Queen Mary, took something like comble view of the matter; for adversity tends powerfully to clear the mental on on many points. Writing to Hooper from prison, in answer to a letter rehim, he thus speaks in a tone of Christian candour and affection, highly Me to his character: "But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand works, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and meent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days; er, in time past, in smaller matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom simplicity (I confess) have in some points varied; now I say, be you assured, a with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you with, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and, I am persuaded, shall, crace of God, abide in us for evermore." The letter was written in Latin .-Works, Parker Soc. edit., pp. 355.

numerous letters on the subject of this paragraph among the Zurich Letters,

pe's Mem. Eccl., vol. ii, part ii., p. 170.

living as he preached, and patiently dying as he lived, being t tyred at Gloucester, anno 1555."1

In less than a month after his consecration, Mrs. Hooper wo letter to her friend Bullinger. She says little about the trou the bishop had met with on account of his opposition to vestme but she expresses her deep obligations to the paternal interest linger took in herself and in Mr. Hooper; for such is the hur designation she gives her husband, and always afterwards gave not venturing to apply to him the proud name of "my lord bishop." Her letter evinces the pains she bestowed on the edition, and especially on the religious education of her daughter. does it less clearly show how delighted she was in the deministerial labours of Hooper and in their success; but appresive lest he might impair his health by undue exertion, she nestly requests Bullinger to urge him to beware of undertak greater amount of labour than his strength could bear.

"I have received your letter, most Christian sir, in which, a glass, I perceive how greatly you are interested for us. though I acknowledge myself quite incapable of returning yo thanks I ought for your especial friendship towards us, I wi cease from offering them; and I heartily pray God and the F of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he may abundantly recompens as I am unable to do so myself. I will not acquaint you wit reason of Master Hooper's imprisonment, until I have com cated to him your letter, which at present is quite out of my p for he went down to his see as soon as he was discharged. I not but that he will satisfy your desire as soon as he is infe of it; and this seems to me far more convenient, than for a make the attempt without consulting him. But as you in how my daughter Rachel is going on, I consider it my duty to you some information concerning her. First, then, you must that she is well acquainted with English, and that she has le

¹ Worthies of England, vol. ii., p. 280.

rithin these three months the form of giving thanks, the andments, the Lord's prayer, the apostles' creed, together rst and second psalms of David. And now, as she knows her letters, she is instructed in the catechism.1 in German I should more frequently take pen in hand. r son should happen to come to England, I shall have a ortunity both of writing, and also, in some measure, of our paternal affection for us, and which I value more you a small gold coin, in which the effigy of the King of very well expressed, as a return for the token you sent for which she thanks you in her childish prattle, and best love. I entreat you to recommend Master Hooper moderate in his labour; for he preaches four, or at least s every day; and I am afraid lest these over-abundant hould occasion a premature decay, by which very many hungering after the Word of God, and whose hunger is a from the frequent anxiety to hear him, will be deprived ir teacher and his doctrine. . . I have forwarded to Master Hooper, and will take care to send you his rewell. Salute Master Bibliander2 and his wife, Master

oper, in a letter to Bullinger, dated Gloucester, August 1, 1551, bears Mrs. Hooper's zeal in the religious education of their daughter. "She frequently hears from her mother the great commendation of the country ree she was born, and she is with great care and diligence instructed in which she formerly made to the church, by means of your kindness and to of Master Bibhiander. She sorely complains of my not more frequently ster so holy a church and such faithful ministers of Christ. She now a piece of cloth as a token of her reverence and respect, one-half to your-to the wife of Master Bibliander; and she heartily thanks her heavenly by you as her sponsors, she has been received into the society of His holy the Letters, first series, p. 92.

Bibliander or Buchman was born in 1504, at Bischoffzel, near St. Gall. sor of theology at Zurich, where he died in 1564. In the correspondence he is termed "the most erudite Bibliander;" and four eminent English ugees, in writing to Bullinger, describe him as "that chief ornament of yea, rather, of the whole world, Theodore Bibliander."—Zurich Letters,

. 11, 615, 623.

Gualter and Pellican,² and their wives, Master Zuinglit wife, to whom also I send a golden coin stamped with effigy.—London, April 3 [1551]. Your most dutiful,

"ANNE DE TSERCLAS, now

"My maid Joanna" salutes you, as does her husband, ter of the French church. When you write to Master myself, take care that your letters are carefully sealed; fo certain busy-bodies who are in the habit of opening as them, if by any means they can do it."

In another letter written to Bullinger, and dated October 27, 1551, she says, "Greeting. When the bea was with us, there were two reasons which prevented n ing your letter; the one, because I am unable to expres ments in German; the other, because I was overwhel many and urgent engagements, that scarce any leisure v me. Yet the regard I bear you drew me aside a little my employments, and compelled me altogether to put t another time. . . . I justly lament your absence, stood forth as my most excellent friend, nay rather, I m patron; and who have so obliged me by your favours, t even to pledge my life, much less my property, I should to return your kindness. Wherefore, since my life an are not sufficient to repay my obligations, I must still debt. Oh! I wish that the distance of place did not sep

¹ Rodolph Gualter was an eminent Protestant minister of Zurich. He vi in 1537; and his diary of that journey is still preserved at Zurich. He w of various theological works.—See Indices to Zurich Letters.

² Conrad Pellican held the chair of theology and Hebrew in the univers and was a man of great learning. He died September 14, 1556, and was Peter Martyr.—M'Crie's Reformation in Italy, p. 383.—Zurich Letter pp. 138, 509. The celebrated Tigurine Latin translation of the Bible w by Pellican and Bibliander; Leo Juda, whose work it chiefly was, having was finished. The apocrypha was translated from the Greek by P. Ch New Testament is Erasmus's translation, revised and corrected by Gualter

³ Joanna was married, 2d June, 1550, to Richard Vauville, pastor of th testants in London, "a worthy and learned man."—Zurich Letters, first ⁴ Ibid., p. 107.

close an interval, that we might enjoy the same intimacy as hereother. But I hope that you will shortly visit England, which if ou will accomplish, I shall then consider myself most fortunate in high again permitted to enjoy your long-wished-for society. I pray ou my father, to salute your wife, my mother, affectionately in my man as also all my other friends. Farewell.

"Rachel, thank God, is in excellent health, and salutes you and our wife, and begs your blessing, and prays that in your blessing id may deign to bless her also.

"Ever your entire and obliged friend,

"ANNE HOOPER." 1

Mrs. Hooper's friends were now afraid that both she and the hop, from their prosperous worldly circumstances, might imagine t they had obtained an earthly paradise, and become proud, idly, and perhaps forgetful of their old acquaintances. y you," says Martin Micronius, in a letter to Bullinger, "to t your influence in recommending to him [Hooper] meekness gentleness. Exhort Mrs. Anne, his wife, not to entangle herwith the cares of this life. Let her beware of the thorns by h the Word of God is choked. It is a most dangerous thing for who is in the service of Christ to hunt after riches and honours. r admonitions will have much weight with them both."2 Proby has no doubt made many forget themselves. But there is sidence that either Mrs. Hooper or the bishop was spoiled by elevation. Both of them conducted themselves humbly and dy, cultivating piety towards God and beneficence towards men. remembered and maintained ancient friendships. Neither ily pomp nor idleness, much less rioting, was to be seen in their e, which, from the good behaviour of all the inmates, and from egular reading of the Scriptures, and the regular observance votional exercises within it, resembled a church. In the comhall, at dinner-time, a table was spread, covered with wholesome and substantial food, with which the poor of the pla their residence were amply supplied.1

But if there were moments in which they did feel disposed, height of prosperity, to say, "My mountain standeth strong, shall never be moved," or, "I shall die in my rest," the de King Edward, and the accession of his sister Mary to the thron sipated all such flattering dreams, and darkened all their earthly prospects. Mary's fanatical Popish bigotry being u sally known, Mrs. Hooper and the bishop now anticipated cast into the furnace of persecution, and tried to look the evil the face. They frequently conversed together on what mig awaiting them, and it is pleasing to find them, while experiwithin a severe conflict between affection and duty, coming resolution to be true to the Protestant cause whatever might h to allow no considerations of private interest, no preferments tinctions, and no sufferings, neither imprisonment, banishme death, to shake their fidelity to it. They encouraged each of an intrepid unwavering confession of Christ in the face of peril, from the precious promises in which He secures to all his ful servants a happy termination to all their trials, and a g reward to their fidelity at death and at the last day. Often d derive comfort from repeating to one another and from studyin words of the Saviour: "Who then is a faithful and wise servant his Lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them I due season? Blessed is that servant whom his Lord when he shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he shall ma ruler over all his goods." "My good wife," says Hooper, in to Mrs. Hooper, dated October 3, 1553, to be afterwards largely quoted, after he had been for some time languishing abominable prison, and suffering the ill-usage of a brutal jaile troubles are not yet generally, as they were in our good time, soon after the death and resurrection of our Savious Christ, whereof he spake in St. Matthew (chap. xxiv.), of

¹ Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi., p. 644.

and I have taken many times great consolation, and espee latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the last d of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and s love the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment." at the throne of grace, did they make their own perilous and that of the Church of England, the matter of fervent eeching the Lord in his mercy to weaken the power of ary, or should it be his will to give loose reins to the fury tion, to grant them and all the godly grace to suffer with and fortitude whatever their enemies might be left to a them.

way did they mutually endeavour to prepare themselves I impending evils. Their fears were but too speedily and zed. An abrupt termination was put to the unceasing exertions which both of them, in their respective spheres, naking to instruct the ignorant in the truths of God's to promote the temporal comfort of the poor and the ound them. Not more than six weeks after Mary was Queen of England, namely, September 1, 1553,1 Mrs. d the trial of having the bishop torn from her embraces. ng arrested and brought to London, Gardiner's first queswas whether he was married. "Yea, my lord," answered and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me." Durgn of Mary the persecuting Popish bishops never failed I and insult the married Protestant ministers, who apfore them, on this point. Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, a d a man naturally of a mild pacific temper, but an example er of Popery in hardening the feelings of all who embrace standing their good natural disposition, and in spite of the ginfluence of polite letters, treated Hooper with contumely married, calling him "beast," and telling him that this of enough to condemn him. Other questions having been put and answered, he was committed close prisoner to the 1 Mary was proclaimed queen on the 20th of July that year.

Fleet. "And is our marriage a matter of reproach, a sea erime," Mrs. Hooper might well say, on hearing of the bishop mination; "has not our Lord expressly said, 'A man shall le father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife?" Has inspired apostle said, 'Marriage is honourable in all,' and enj bishop to be 'the husband of one wife?" Is not 'forbidding to given as a mark of Antichrist? Verily these men make void of God by their traditions and inventions."

It was a great aggravation of Mrs. Hooper's distress to the wretched condition of the bishop in prison, how he had allotted him for his bed but a little pad of straw, a rotten of with a tick containing only a few feathers, until some kind sent him bedding; while the foul air infected him with diveases, the receptacle of the filth of the whole establishment the one side of his cell, and the town ditch on the other. I she ignorant of the great barbarity with which Babbing warden of the Fleet, in particular treated him, and how he to Gardiner the names of those benevolent individuals who buted to her husband's necessities, that they might be aft proceeded against as heretics.

Advised by the bishop and her friends, who all augured the ast of the future prospects of the Reformers in England, Mrs. now prepared to remove to the continent. Having taken a ful farewell of her husband, not expecting to see him again world, as she never did, she embarked for Holland, taking Rachel, her eldest child, but leaving behind her in England fant and only other child, Daniel, who had been born since a to England. Arriving at Antwerp, she accompanied a party

¹ Foxe, vol. vi., p. 646.

² In the reign of Edward VI. an act of Parliament was passed, permittin riage of the clergy, and legitimatizing their children. But in the reign of Ma subsequently to the period referred to in the text, this law was repealed, an riages contracted by priests were declared unlawful, and their children basta

³ Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 97, edit. 1844.

⁴ Foxe, vol. vi., p. 647.—Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. iii., part i., p. 284.—(
Letters of the Martyrs, p. 96.

nds from that city to Frankfort. At Frankfort she met Protestants from England and other lands, who had fled scape persecution. From the love of their society, and their religious advantages, she rented a house in that



The Edenerberg and Church of St. Nicholas, Frankfort,

she purposed to continue till she saw how Providence eased to dispose of her husband. She connected herself reign church there, under the pastoral superintendence lus Pollanus, who was married to one of her relatives.¹

e reign of Edward VI., Valerandus Pollanus was minister of the French church at Glastonbury, Somersetshire, which had fled from Strasburg the Interim. The Duke of Somerset, who, on the dissolution of the ad been gifted with the abbey of Glastonbury, one of the finest of those parks of architecture, converted it into a woollen manufactory for the ollanus's congregation, who were mostly woollen weavers, promising to and other requisites to carry on their manufactures, and allotting them dwellings, and plots of land for feeding their cows. The fall of the duke

The English government having permitted her and the bishop to correspond by letter, she was not ignorant of his condition and feelings when in prison. Of this correspondence, by which, in the circumstances, they perhaps comforted and encouraged each other more effectually than they could have done by personal intercourse, the only portion extant is one of Hooper's letters to her, formerly referred to, written October 13, 1553, about six weeks after his imprisonment. A few extracts will afford an idea of the beautiful apostolic spirit and sentiments of Hooper; and from the tone of the letter it is evident that he felt that he was writing to one whose spirit and sentiments had been cast in the same mould. "As he that was born after the flesh persecuted, in times past, him that was born after the spirit, even so it is now (Gen. xxi.). Therefore, forsomuch as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by God's Word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they are sent to us from God. We must also assure ourselves that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble than Christ himself hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment:- 'Ye shall possess your lives in patience' (chap. xxi.). . . . When troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient, and in no cause violently or seditiously to resist our persecutors (Rom. viii.), because God hath such care and charge of us that he will keep, in the midst of all troubles, the very hairs of our head, so that one of them shall not fall to the ground without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. And seeing he hath such care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life itself? Wherefore, let God's adversaries do what they list, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt;

put a stop for a time to their industry; but in November, 1551, receiving renewed encouragement from the privy council, they began again to prosper. Mary's accession to the throne threatened disaster to these foreign Protestants, and Pollanus, accompanied or followed by many of them, left England and settled at Frankfort. When in England he translated into Latin the liturgy used by his church, and published it in February, 1551.—Zurich Letters, pp. 82, 377, 378.—Strype's Mem. Eccl., vol. 1, pp. 378, 381.

hat which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father be no harm, no loss, neither destruction unto us; but rather wealth, and felicity."

ter recommending to her, when she found herself pressed down fliction, to read the 6th, 22d, 30th, 31st, 38th, 69th, 77th, and psalms, as also Eccles. iv. and Col. iii., which were well fitted oduce patience and to impart comfort, he says—"Remember although your life, as the life of all Christian men, is hid, and the unit what it is, yet it is safe (as St. Paul saith) with God trist; and when Christ shall appear, then shall our lives be open [i.e., rendered conspicuous] with him in glory. But in the neartime, while setting our affections upon the things above, we patiently suffer whatever God shall send unto us in this mortal

And in the close, after expressing his apprehension that his isonment would issue in his shortly being put to death, he adds, I's will be done! I wish, in Christ Jesus, our only Mediator and our, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most ed and painful passion, I commit you. Amen."

om such communications as these, so overflowing with affection, ch in Christian consolation, and so strong in Christian faith and tude, Mrs. Hooper derived great support. It was comforting to be know that he had got so much above the fear of death. At tume time, his frequent allusions to his probably speedy martyrmust have excited in her breast deep emotions of anguish; for could not regard his fears as exaggerated. Unwilling as she at be to relinquish the hope of his liberation, she could hardly the longer he lay in prison, especially as he was now kept in a close and severe confinement than when she left England, of ag the more reason to contemplate the result with gloomy appresions. She knew that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bon-Bishop of London, who now managed everything and had every-

¹ Foxe, vol. vi., pp. 665-668.

thing their own way, were violent, sanguinary, ferocious, a they hated her husband for his important services in behalt Reformation; though in the reign of Edward VI. their against him, from their having fallen into disgrace, was ver She knew that, since the accession of Mary, these men, who fiercely and relentlessly persecuted the Protestants in the Henry VIII., were giving indications, now that they had aga to power, of an immensely increased ferocity, as if in revenge temporary ascendency of the Reformation in the reign of VI. Had the bishop, indeed, recanted, and had he shown as ready to support restored Romanism as he had been ze advancing the Reformation, he might have disarmed their fur his life and his bishopric, or have even, as the reward of a risen to higher dignity and wealth in the church; but she kr he was too conscientious and too magnanimous to betray principled pliancy of disposition for any worldly consideration had learned, too, though none had yet been brought to the s the Protestant faith, that the Reformers in England, from the augmenting fury of Gardiner and his party, were constantly ing to see the fires of Smithfield and other places lighted. N the reflection escape her, that to bring such a man as Mr. H. that horrible punishment would, by those miscreants, be ac a masterly stroke of policy, as it would be cutting off one head deer," a man eminently fitted for, and uncommonly zes disseminating the reformed principles, and would be calcu inspire more general terror than the execution of an obsen vidual. All these things considered seemed to annihilate he served to create a conviction, little short of certainty, that secution of the measures now adopted for the extermination of and of heretics, he had been marked out and doomed for dest

Under the agitation and sorrow caused by such reflection Hooper was sustained, not only by epistolary intercourse values bishop, but also by the sympathy she experienced from man tian friends, and especially from her venerated and much-respectively. Ballinger, who was deeply concerned on hearing accounts of clancholy state of matters in England, and especially of the situation of the bishop and herself, with whom he had enjoyed elightful intercourse during their stay at Zurich. Her present ustances, and the state of her mind on account of the afflicted ion of herself and of the Reformers in England generally, may thered from a letter which she wrote to that excellent man, in to a very gratifying one she had received from him. The is as follows:—

ach health. I recognized, my venerable friend, in the letter tely wrote me, your wonted kindness. You show yourself so as about me that I could not expect more even if you were my And, indeed, that letter was doubly acceptable, both because prived that I was not neglected by you, and also because God that time visited me with a calamity, in which I was forced aly to lament the common condition of the church at large, but by own individual affliction. My woman's mind being battered these two engines, what wonder if it seemed immediately about way ? But the Spirit of the Lord was with me, and raised ministers to give me comfort, among whom you were one, by eletter I was especially refreshed. May the Lord Jesus repay with his blessing! For after I had received and read it over, m, by God's assistance, to bear myself up against such a weight amity; and I am hitherto supporting myself, as far as I am by the Word of God, often reading over again your letter to wars to this dull flesh. You will perform an act, therefore, of your kindness, if you will continue in this manner, by more est letters, to uphold me whom you have in some degree already d up.

thank you for expressing your wish that I were with you yonter is there any other place I should prefer. But since the by my husband's bidding and the advice of my friends, has at a driven me from England, and conducted me safe to Antwerp, alled myself of an opportunity of accompanying a party every way suitable, and joined my female relative at Frankfort, where now, by the mercy of God, the senate has granted liberty to the foreign church for their whole ecclesiastical ministry, both of the Word and sacraments. On this account I shall prefer remaining here in my own hired house until I see how the Lord shall deal with my husband, concerning whom, as I have not yet received any intelligence, I am not a little anxious. But yet I know that he is under God's care, and I therefore acquiesce in the providence of my God; and although this burden of widowhood is very painful, yet I comfort myself, as far as I am able, by prayer and the Word of God. I entreat you, for Christ's sake, to aid me, both with your prayers and correspondence. Salute, I pray you, most dutifully, my very dear gossip, your wife, with all your family. I salute Masters Bibliander, Pellican, Gualter, Sebastian the schoolmaster, and all the brethren. I pray Almighty God continually to afford you an increase of his Spirit. Farewell, my much esteemed and revered friend in Christ.-Frankfort, April 20, the day after the opening of the church of the White Virgins to us, when Master Valerandus Pollanus, the husband of my relative, and the chief pastor of the church, preached a sermon, and baptized has young son in the Rhine. May God grant to this church a d increase, and worthy of his name! Do you pray for it. The past himself, my kinsman, earnestly entreated me to salute you in name, and to commend his ministry to your prayers and those your colleagues. Again, farewell in Christ. 1554.

"Your god-daughter, Rachel, salutes you and your wife. Danis still in England, and I shall send a certain most respectable matron, who has hitherto been living with me, to bring him hither I commend my honoured husband to your prayers.—Your verloving friend,

"Anne Hooper."

In compliance with the desire expressed in this letter, Bullinge who was ever ready to minister to the relief of the suffering Protestants, whether by hospitality towards such as had fled from other countries to Switzerland to escape persecution, or by friendly epistolar

¹ Zurich Letters, first series, p. 110.

ence with such as were at a distance from him, did not continue to write, as he found opportunity, to a lady who high place in his esteem, and in whose welfare he had, me he first knew her, taken a paternal interest. Nor was ul of her and of her husband in his prayers. He testifies, he had heard of the bishop's imprisonment, it was his prayer at the throne of grace that their common heavenly ough their common only Mediator, Jesus Christ, would the bishop, and to his fellow-prisoners, faith and conthe end. He had indeed refrained from corresponding notwithstanding his having received from him two letters m prison.1 This, however, did not proceed from forgetliminished affection, but from his doubts of finding the safe conveyance for his letters, or from an apprehension correspondence, if known to the government, might be etext for imposing upon Hooper additional hardships. g, in a subsequent communication to Mrs. Hooper, exdesire of writing to him, she earnestly urged him by all write, assuring him it would greatly oblige Mr. Hooper, ten expressed to her how much he longed for an epistle d and much beloved friend, as well as complained of havreceived from him the shortest answer in return to his rs, and she directed him as to the mode of a safe conveyour letter," says she, "my loving friend, was very gratiand I thank you for continuing to be so anxious about ink you, too, very much, for your anxiety about Master By the grace of God he bears everything, even his threat-, with constancy and fortitude. Your letter, I know, will eptable to him, as he has already told me more than once.

ad sent to Bullinger other letters, which, however, with the exception of of appear to have reached him. It is worthy of notice, as a proof of erous sympathy with his Protestant brethren, that these letters were sent ant refogees, and with the special object of recommending the bearers to y and kindness of Bullinger, and of the Christian Protestant brethren of ich Letters, pp. 102, 104.—Foxe, vol. vi., p. 675.

I entreat you, for Christ's sake, deny him not this com receive your letter, I will early take care that it shall be For hitherto, by the goodness of God, he has always been write to me, and to receive my letters; only take care that ters are delivered at Strasburg, either to Master Burc Master John Garner, the minister of the French church." "I have been hitherto tolerably well, and bear this calamit as I can. The Lord will aid and succour my weakness. I of the prayers and sweet consolations of my good friends, I earnestly entreat you not to neglect me."²

In a subsequent letter to Bullinger, dated Frankfort, No 1554, she expresses the same earnest solicitude as here for in the continued sympathy and prayers of her Christian f acknowledges that she was wonderfully supported, though felt her heart sinking under the pressure of grief, and all to die within her. "I return you everlasting thanks," says dear and honoured friend, for your delightful letter. afforded me much comfort. I acknowledge and experience and perceive also in many others, what the Lord Christ and I often soothe my mind, when wounded by anxiety sweet reflection that our God is faithful. I earnestly er therefore, not to cease pleading for me with the Lord in yo and by a letter from time to time to arouse my spirit, wl the truth, I very often feel to be all but dead through gri now require the aid of all godly persons, although I entirely forsaken of the Lord, who sometimes refreshes m

¹ John Burcher was an Englishman who, having embraced the gos driven by persecution, in the reign of Henry VIII., from his native land at Strasburg, and was a partner with Richard Hilles, another Engli refugee, as a cloth merchant.—Zurich Letters. pp. 246, 259.

² The letter is dated Frankfort, September 22, 1554.—Zurich Letters, firs a There seems here to be an allusion to what Bullinger had said in his Ue had probably reminded her, as a means of confirming her patience, the forewarned his disciples:—"The servant is not greater than his Lord. persecuted me, they will also persecute you;" and, "In the world ye shall tion, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

of a better life. But you yourself know how suitable to ind is the conversation of a sincere friend."1

ne letter she expresses how much satisfaction it gave her and from his last that he was writing a letter to Mr. I trust in the Lord that the letter which you are writing ausband will afford him no less consolation than the one ad in his name I thank you for that service. He is into the kind attention of all godly persons. I wish a sometime have it in my power worthily to repay your y very readiness to do so would show that I am not ratitude. But you know me well."

s intended letter to Hooper, which was written in Latin, urich, October 10, 1554, reached him in safety. It is a z and a truly apostolic epistle. From its Christian pathos I hardly read it with dry eyes, and yet its powerfully irit must have greatly confirmed his Christian resolution. thing happened unto you," says Bullinger, "my brother. e did often times prophesy unto ourselves, at your being uld come to pass, especially when we did talk of the tichrist, and of his success and victories. For you know Daniel (chap. viii.), 'His power shall be mighty, but trength; and he shall wonderfully destroy and make things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall nighty and the holy people after his own will." Having ous powerful encouragements to suffer for the sake of us concludes, "Therefore, seeing you have such a large strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful unto onsider that Christ, the Son of God, is your captain, and you, and that all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs are oldiers. . . . Happy are we if we depart in the he grant unto you, and to all your fellow-prisoners, stancy."3

Hooper's reply was written on the same day on which he received the letter, namely, on the 11th of December, same year, and it breathes the spirit of a sublime and holy heroism, as will be seen by quoting a few sentences. "Grace and peace from the Lord! Your letter, my beloved brother, was very delightful to me, because it was full of comfort. In this country the wound which Antichrist received is entirely healed, and he is once more regarded as the head of the church, who is not even a member of the true church of Christ. You will learn from others both my own situation, and the state of public affairs. We are still involved in the greatest dangers, as we have been for almost the last eighteen months. The enemies of the gospel are every day giving us more and more annoyance; we are imprisoned apart from each other, and treated with every degree of ignominy. They are daily threatening us with death, which we are quite indifferent about; in Christ Jesus we boldly despise the sword and the flames. We know in whom we have believed, and we are sure that we shall lay down our lives in a good cause. Meanwhile aid us with your prayers, that He who hath begun a good work in us, will perform it even unto the end. We are the Lord's, let Him do what seemeth good in his eyes. I entreat you to comfort occasionally, by your letters, that most exemplary and godly woman, my wife; and exhort her to bring up our children carefully, Rachel your little goddaughter, an exceedingly well-disposed girl, and my son Daniel, and piously to educate them in the knowledge and fear of God."1

Here is no shrinking or recoiling—no blanching or quailing at the prospect of the stake. In looking forward to it, the earthly objects nearest his heart were his wife and his children; and yet the conjugal and parental ties, which naturally tended to strengthen his attachment to life, did not shake his courage, or cause him for a moment hesitate in his heroic resolve to sacrifice life for God and conscience. In one sense these ties may be said to have strengthened his courage and resolution; for had he recanted—the only

1 Zurich Letters, first series, pp. 104-106.

in which he could escape the stake—the lawfulness of the of priests would have been one of the articles he would required to abjure, and thus he would have acknowledged have been only his mistress, his children bastards, and have been living in concubinage; confessions from which iment of religion and of honour in his heart revolted. he persecution," as has been justly said, "the married e observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearmy to the validity and sanctity of their marriage, against d unchristian aspersions of the Romish persecutors; the their wives and children was at stake; the desire of leavn unsullied name and a virtuous example, combined with f religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from s which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it."1 comfort which the bishop recommends Bullinger to ad-Mrs. Hooper, she had now more need than ever. The d long dreaded as awaiting him was about to be realized, e was now anticipating. Things, as she learned from the which had reached her, continued to wear a darker ngland for the Protestants; and from what she knew of the helm of public affairs, she was increasingly anxious might befall him. "There has not been," says she in her Illinger, November, 12, 1554, quoted before, "of a long time intelligence from England, except that those persons who m thence on the 10th instant, assert that a meeting of Par-I taken place respecting the coronation of the Spaniard;2 e hand of an individual3 had been burnt off, because he hear mass, and chose rather to be brought to the stake; me godly persons had lately been thrown into prison for religion. If this be the case, I am more than commonly out my husband. May the Lord Jesus preserve us both!"

Book of the Church, vol. ii., p. 151.

^{&#}x27;mlip of Spain, Mary's consort.

bably was Thomas Jenkins, a weaver of Shoreditch, for an account of
don, see Foxe, vol. vi., p. 71.

She was not long kept in suspense as to his fate; the l tragedy hastened apace to its catastrophe. It was now determi close his long imprisonment by a violent death. The chief age this work of blood were Gardiner and Bonner.1 Their sanga character, and their hatred of Hooper, would have inclined th perpetrate the deed at a much earlier period; but it was not t Parliament which met in November, 1554, had revived the against the Lollards and the law of the six articles, which been repealed in the reign of Edward VI., and which the pres Parliament had refused to revive, that they were armed wit power. Sentence was pronounced against him by Gardiner was then lord chancellor, condemning him to be burned al Gloucester, on the morning of the 9th of February, 1555.2 Glou was fixed upon because it was the seat of his bishopric, and b there he was best known. On the same principle was the p the execution of other martyrs selected. The persecutors me strike universal terror by exhibiting these terrible examples a the country. But the policy was as short-sighted as it was for these spectacles, wherever exhibited, from the heroism disby the martyrs, made new converts to the Protestant faith, an dered Popery an object of horror and detestation. For the issue Hooper was not unprepared. Long before, his course of had been ripened into decision, and now, when the trying he rived, he was enabled by the grace of God to witness a goo fession, undaunted by the terrors of a most appalling death.

¹ This was exactly what Hooper had long before auticipated from these merever they got the power. In a letter to Henry Bullinger, dated London, Nove 1549, he says, "The Bishop [Bonner] of London, the most bitter enemy of a pel, is now living in confinement, and deposed from his bishopric. This was when the affairs and fortunes of the Duke of Somerset were more prosperous the are at present. I had a sharp and dangerous contest with that bishop, both a from the pulpit, in my turns at Paul's Cross, and also before the king's Should he be again restored to his office and episcopal function, I shall, I do be restored to my country and my Father who is in heaven."—Zurich Lette series, pp. 69, 70.
2 Foxe, vol. vi., p. 652.

ays previously to his execution, namely, on the 4th of that preliminary step was taken, that of degrading him from office. The ceremony of degradation was conducted in in Newgate, by Bonner, at the request of Gardiner, in f a notary and other witnesses. Hooper, and Mr. John ebendary and divinity lecturer of St. Paul's, and vicar of hre's, London, who was degraded at the same time, being nto the chapel, Bonner, with great satisfaction, entered task. He invested the two confessors with the dress, , and all the badges of distinction belonging to the order as if they had been about to execute their function. He eded to pull off the vestments, beginning with the outer by degrees, and in regular order, he had stripped them of e sacerdotal attire. This being done, he, with affected pious declared them, "In nomine + Patris, + Filii, + et Spiri-" deprived of all clerical rank, and of all the privileges beereto, and delivered them over to the secular power.1 fered at Smithfield on the same day, being the first who d for Protestantism during the reign of the bloody Mary.2 being the place fixed upon for Hooper's execution, this s martyrdom for some days.

orders of the London sheriffs, the queen's guards carried oucester, there to be handed over to the sheriffs of that ho, with Lord Chandos and other commissioners, were to see the sentence which had been pronounced against d into effect. On being committed to the sheriffs of Glouing expressed to them his thanks for the kindness shown guards who had conducted him from London, and having

the first time that the fires in Smithfield were lighted since the burning ew, in July, 1546, between eight and nine years before. Considering the h the reformed principles had made during the reign of Edward VI., by lation of the Scriptures, and the means taken by the government to ensople, the death of Rogers must have excited in the minds of multitudes d in other parts of England, indescribable horror.

Lyi., pp. 651, 652.

adverted to their being appointed to see him brought to-morrow to the place of execution, he added, "My sole request to you is, that there may be a quick fire, in order to put a speedy end to my life; and in the meantime I will be as obedient to you as you can desire. I am not come hither as one compelled to die (for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain), but as one willing to offer my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked Papistical religion of the Bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God and a true obedient subject to the queen." At the intercession of the guards, who declared that such was his mildness that a child might have held him in custody, he was not sent to the common jail of Gloucester, but kept in the house of a person named Robert Ingram-



Ingram's House, in Westgate Street, Gloucester.

About nine o'clock in the morning of the 9th of February, he welled forth from the house in which he had spent his last night, to the

¹ This house, which still exists, is exhibited in its present state in the above engraving. "It is to the right of the picture, and the open window denotes the room supposed to be the one Hooper occupied. The house is now divided into two tenements, but the original doorway exists, in the centre, through which the procession issued. The door is very thick, and studded with large iron nails."—(Communicated by the artist.)

martyrdom. On his arrival, and before being bound to the box, containing the queen's pardon, on condition of his re-, was laid before him on a stool. But never for a moment

nartyr waver. At of this pretended cried out, "If you soul, away with peating the same second time. His s lingering and his dreadful, an acwhich is enough to e's blood run cold. was bound to the I the fire lighted. d very slowly, the being lowering and there being a large of green fagots, not two horses could on their backs. A ble time elapsed e fire caught the



Place of Hooper's Martyrdom, Gloucester.

in the fagots; and, even when it began to burn, the wind, lent, blew the flame from him, so that he was in a great mea-

te of the bishop's martyrdom, in its present state, is represented in the awing. 'Tradition had handed down, from generation to generation, the and its accuracy was confirmed by the accidental discovery, not many years charred stake, with some part of the iron-work which had been used on the a. An Irish gentleman, who happened to be passing through the city in 1826, when the stake was discovered, erected on the spot, which is in the lof St. Mary de Lode, a neat monument in commemoration of the martyr, table inscription.—Counsel's Life of Bishop Hooper, pp. 47, 49. "This is in the foreground of the engraving. In the background is the western abbey, from which the priests witnessed the martyr's sufferings. It is a imen of early English architecture, and, though much dilapidated, has not do restored in any way; and, together with many of the neighbouring

sure as yet unhurt. He was heard to pray with a collecter and calm voice, and apparently without pain-" O Jesus, thou David, have mercy upon me, and save my soul!" Shortly after dry fagots, there being no more reeds, were brought, and a n was kindled; but, kept down by the wind, it did little n the upper part of his body than scorch the skin and burn t of his head. He again prayed as before, still apparently to pain, "O Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy upon me, and my soul!" The second fire being spent, he wiped both his ey his hands, and, his lower parts being now severely burned, t from the small quantity of fagots, the flame had burned but s his upper parts, he looked upon the people, and cried out und torment he now felt, "For God's love, good people, let m more fire!" The fire, being kindled a third time, now burne greater violence, and the bladders of the gunpowder explode from the manner in which they were placed, and from the st of the wind, this did not terminate his sufferings by putting to his life. He again prayed, with a somewhat louder voic before, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me!" a prayer wh repeated three times. These were the last words he was he utter. But when his mouth had become black with the fir his tongue swollen, so that he could not speak, his lips were of to move as if in prayer, till they were shrunk to the gums. the dreadful agony he beat upon his breast with his hands one of his arms fell off, after which he continued beating up breast with the other hand-the fat, water, and blood mea dropping out at his fingers' ends-until at last, by the renewal fire, his strength being gone, his hand, which ceased to bear fast to the iron upon his breast, and, bowing forward, he yiel his spirit to God, having remained three quarters of an h upwards, alive in the devouring element.1

houses, presents almost the same appearance it did in the time of Queen I (Communicated by the artist.)

¹ Foxe, vol. vi., pp. 652-659.

as the close of this dismal tragedy. Hundreds others of a ind are unhappily to be found in the story of the terrible a of this reign. Execution followed execution with appalition, bidding fair, had Mary's life been prolonged, to exterrotestantism from the English soil. Surely the blood of tyrs has not been shed in vain. Surely England's sympacir memory is too strong, and her gratitude to Providence exciful triumph of the principles of the Reformation too her to permit Popery ever to regain its ascendency, and to uch horrible scenes in this land, so long the asylum of true and of freedom.

ring to the feelings as is the description of the martyrdom oly man, there was something peculiarly engaging in the ek, unrepining spirit with which he suffered-a gentleness ness of spirit which might have made his enemies relent, not, by long repressing the sentiments of compassion in rts, become incapable of feeling them. Like his Divine e was truly led as a lamb to the slaughter. Not one imeeling did he harbour against the relentless sovereign and e counsellors, the authors of his dreadful death. Nor do mire that unconquerable constancy to the cause he had so espoused, which no prospect of escape on condition of recanld shake, and that ardent piety which streamed forth from as from a fountain, in fervent supplications to God. The his supreme solicitude was to honour Christ by his death; s sustained by the triumphant hope of reigning with him, martyr above, in the joys of that kingdom prepared for the efore the foundation of the world. Hooper, at his death, e sixtieth year of his age, and was the first of the English t bishops who sealed the truth with their blood.

oper, being now resident at Frankfort, was deprived of I gratification of seeing the bishop before his martyrdom, ugh she had been at that time in England, Gardiner and ith their usual inhumanity, would probably, as in the case of Rogers' wife, have refused to allow her to speak with him; and, like the wives of other martyrs, she would have been able to see him, and perhaps to obtain a brief interview with him, only by watching, with her infant boy in her arms and her little daughter by her side, on the road, as he passed to the place of execution. Nor had she the melancholy satisfaction of making for him a garment in which he might suffer, a service performed to some of the martyrs by their wives, and a service which, being all they could render to those dearest to their hearts for the fiery trial, yielded at the time, and afterwards, on reflection, a distressing satisfaction, similar, though far more agonizing, to what is felt from having smoothed the pillow of a dying friend, and administered to him the refreshing cordial.

Her distress on hearing of the bishop's death, in all its circumstances, it is impossible to describe. Familiarized though she had been with the event by long anticipation, the details of his barbarous execution were such as to lacerate her feelings to the uttermost. That tragedy, though she had not witnessed it, imagination vividly pictured to her view, and it never passed from her memory. Every night she lay down upon her widowed and lonely pillow—every morning she arose from her broken and disturbed slumbers—every time she sat down with her fatherless children to partake with them of their homely frugal meal, or knelt with them, and lifted up her voice and her heart to heaven in prayer—by a thousand mementoes—she was reminded of her loneliness; how he, who had made home to them all a paradise of delight, had been torn from their embraces, how he had expired in excruciating lingering torture, how his ashes

[!] This the wife of Laurence Saunders did. Knowing that his death was determined upon, he wrote to her, telling her that he was now ready to be offered up, and desiring her to send him a shirt. "You know," said he, "whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open." On which Southey beautifully remarks, "The crimes of those miserable days called forth virtues equal to the occasion. A wife who prepared the garment in which her husband was to suffer at the stake, must, indeed, have been a true helpmate, and one who possessed a heart which could feel and understand how much his fortitude would be confirmed and comforted by a reliance upon hers."—The Book of the Church, vol. ii., p. 154.

were scattered she knew not whither. But she sorrowed not as those who had no hope. She had the deep certainty that the spirit of him whom she mourned, released from its hard and mortal struggle in in this scene of misery, was now spotlessly pure and perfectly blessed in a better world; and her own hopes of reaching that world were blended with the memory of his virtues, and with the bright vision of meeting him there, in all the raptures of a renewed, perfected, and eternal friendship. Speaking of him as dead (April 11, 1555), two months after his martyrdom, she adds, turning her thoughts to the brighter side-"Indeed, he is alive with all the holy martyrs, and with his Christ, the head of the martyrs; and I am dead here till God shall again unite me to him." She did not wish him to be brought down from his exalted abode to this world of sin and suffering. She rather longed to follow him, and derived comfort from the thought that the separation was only for a season. In regard to his whee, whatever in the meantime might become of them, she believed that they were under the care of God, who at the last day would reproduce them, fashioned into an incorruptible, immortal, and glorious fame, the meet habitation of the glorified spirit.

Bullinger, her dear friend, no sooner heard of the bishop's violent and lingering death, than he sent her a letter, breathing deep sympathy and full of Christian consolation, which greatly supported her desolate widowed heart, and for which she was exceedingly grateful. I thank you," says she, "for your most godly letter; I certainly stand much in need of such consolations, and of your prayers. I pray you, therefore, by the holy friendship of the most holy martyr, my husband, of whom being now deprived, I consider this life to be death, do not forsake me. I am not one who is able to return your bindness, but you will do an acceptable service to God, who especially commends widows to your protection. I and my Rachel return our thanks for the elegant new year's gift you sent us. Salute your excellent wife, my very dear gossip, and all friends. Frankfort, April 11, 1555." In a postscript she adds, "Your [god-daughter]

¹ Zurich Letters, first series, p. 114.

t of all revise the book, and procure it to be printed youam well aware that his memory is most precious to you, doubt not, be equally ready to oblige him in this matter, re now alive." To what work of the bishop's she here difficult to determine. He had sent along with his letter er, dated 11th December, 1554, two small Latin treatises rusal, consideration, and correction" of that eminent man, titled, An Hyperaspismus touching the true doctrines and Lord's Supper, dedicated to the Parliament of England, s he, "we may publicly reply to our adversaries in the rliament;" the other entitled, A Tractate upon discerning ng false religion, requesting Bullinger to cause them to be soon as possible. Mrs. Hooper probably has a reference ther of these treatises. But neither of them appears to printed; nor, though search has been made for the manus, has any trace of them been found. The epistle dedihe latter is printed in Strype's Memorials. Bale mentions as among Hooper's works, written in Latin, from prison, tes the commencing sentence of each.2

rative of the life of Mrs. Hooper must here abruptly close, sequent history we have been unable to discover any partir have we met with any information as to her children to the execution of their father. But the preceding meacerning her, imperfect though they be, reflect the highest on her memory, and claim for her a place among the ad of witnesses," who "obtained a good report through I who are entitled to the grateful remembrance and imitaterity.

² Bale's Script. Illustr., lib. i., Basil, 1559.



¹ Vol. iii., part i., p. 283; and part ii., p. 267.

this law has been obeyed. How often has the wail of receeded from the Christian church, as from the Jews of she thought, under her persecutions, of her murdered ing unburied, the prey of ravenous animals: "O God, the recome into thine inheritance; the dead bodies of thy are they given to be meat unto the fowls of heaven, the resints unto the beasts of the earth!" (Psalm lxxix. 1, 2). the fate of many of the Waldenses, Milton refers in his a and touching sonnet upon the persecutions they endured:

Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughtered saints, whose bones Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold."

m of Queen Mary, "the bodies of those who died in prison, atural disease or in consequence of hunger, were cast out in the fields, all persons being forbidden to bury them."1 pish persecutors have carried their barbarity against the s of heretics even further than by leaving them to lie or not permitting their burial. They have treated them conceivable mark of indignity. They have cast them s, or covered them with heaps of stones, dragged them ed them, and trampled them under foot, mangled them, em into pits, cast them forth to dogs and birds of prey. m upon spits, yea, what is almost incredible and horrible ome of these savage cannibals have fricasseed and actually The French Papists, as we learn from a Roman Catholic luring the period of the league, made rosaries of the ears ared Huguenots, on which they might repeat their Ave I Pater Nosters;2 and in the time of the Irish massacre in of Charles I., when cruelties almost unequalled in the depraved human nature were perpetrated, the Irish rried their barbarities, in this respect, to a still greater

Book of the Church, vol. ii., p. 243. 2 Mathieu, Hist., liv. i., p. 119. ree Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery, p. 123.

du

th

The frenzy of Popish persecutors has also driven them to open the graves of heretics, or of persons suspected of heresy, who had been fortunate enough during life to escape their fury, to take out their bones and burn them; an outrage which, though the dead body is insensible, excites almost as strong a sensation of horror as the casting of the living into the burning pile, for it evinces, as we at once feel, not less malignity and cruelty of heart. Councils and popes have decreed that such persons should be tried, condemned, excommunicated, and that their dust and bones should be committed to the flames; and often have these decrees been carried into effect. Many of the Waldenses, after having been interred twenty-five or thirty years, were dug up, and publicly burned, partly from malice, and partly as a pretext for confiscating their property. Thus also was the dead body of John Wickliffe treated, after it had lain many years in the grave. No man before his time had done so much to undermine the Papacy as Wickliffe, and we can easily imagine the "leer malign" with which his resurrectionists would, like the grave-digger in Hamlet, "jowl his skull to the ground, as if it had been Cain's jaw-bone that did the first murder," and when all the fragments were collected, cast them into the devouring element. Similar was the treatment of the dead bodies of Martin the Bucer and Paul Fagius (the former professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge, the latter professor of Hebrew in same university), which, in the reign of Queen Mary, were up and publicly burned in the market-place at Cambridge, on 6th of February, 1556-7. This scene was enacted at a time the principal cities of England exhibited the horrible spectacle o burning of living holy martyrs, and it showed that, had the learned Reformers been then alive, they would have shared the fate as Rogers, Bradford, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer.

We have been led to make these remarks from their bearing pol the following narrative, which relates not to the life of Mrs. Mar tyr, but chiefly to the ignominious exhumation of her corpse by Card inal Pole and his coadjutors, during the reign of Queen Mary, and to the

rment of her remains in the beginning of the reign n.1

RMILIA, who was originally a nun, was married to Italian Reformer of honourable family, during his burg, whither he had gone upon the invitation of he had obtained a situation as professor in the eing obliged, in 1542, to leave his native country ers to which his heretical sentiments, and his useening the eyes of many to the knowledge of the at Naples and Lucca, had exposed him. They sburg till the end of the year 1547, when Martyr a invitation from Archbishop Cranmer to come to ne to this country, where Martyr was appointed ity in the university of Oxford. During her resi-Mrs. Martyr was distinguished for her good works, liberality towards the poor. But her life was not rs. She died on the 15th of February, 1553-4. ously attacked by quartan ague," says Martyr, in de after her death, "to which she had for a long , and departed to be with Christ. God enabled ch faith, piety, fortitude and constancy in the conth, even to the last hour, that it was in a manner no were present. Although I rejoice in her felicity,

hich we chiefly derive our materials is a rare contemporary Latin account of the whole proceedings, written by James Calfrill, nurch College, and addressed to Edmund Grindal, Bishop of a learned man, and took a very active part in putting honour Mrs. Martyr. Foxe, in his Acts and Monuments, vol. viii., pp. in his Life of Archbishop Parker, vol. i., pp. 198-201, have cumstances. In the volume referred to there are also various of the life, death, burial, accusation, condemnation, exhumation, the restoration of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, collected by med reformed minister of Strasburg. The whole work was in 12mo, in 1561, by John Oporinus, under the superintendence cation, which is addressed to Michael Dillerus, a learned divine, 4, 1562.

N

the commissioners appointed to visit the university of we have here specially to do. Though varied in their chard attainments, they were all men abundantly inclined to ith zeal upon the work of their mission. They are thus d by Calfhill:- "Brooks1 was a man of no common learnof contemptible eloquence; he was of an acute understandof easy amiable manners, if the iniquity of those times and pany of bad men had not changed his nature. Ormaneto 2 parkable for nothing except intolerable arrogance, in which underfully excelled, that it is impossible to imagine it carried er excess. Cole was unmatched for erudition in his own but, in the judgment of others, of ordinary attainments. per was so extremely severe, that though he had burnt the ooks and greatly harassed the Reformers, he was dissatisfied mself as unduly moderate. He could bear nothing with difficulty than to understand that any person read Cicero or The reason of this opposition to classical learning is not ell known, unless, perhaps, it proceeded from his overfondness for his own ingenious paradox, 'that ignorance is her of true piety.' Morven4 was advanced in years, a ld man, who managed his household establishment with a nious economy, and possessed little ability for maintaining rsies on theological questions, yet he was a most bitter of the ancient absurdities of his own religion. is adorned with a combination of natural talents and much learning, nor would one desire more in that man except y, which it becomes all good men to preserve, and especially n pastors, who should have stable and certain, not erratic illating sentiments on the subject of religion."

ming to the resolution to dig up and burn the corpse of Mrs.
these commissioners, like those of Cambridge, were guided
anon law, which enjoins that if any excommunicated or here-

p of Gloucester.

Nicholas Ormaneto.

Merry Cole,
Morven, president of Corpus Christi College.

A doctor of Civil Law.

wicked one. With their blood inflamed by strong drink, and by violent, exasperated, and headlong passion, they collected y Bibles and other books treating of scriptural evangelical s they could discover, brought them together in the marketand committed them to the flames. In the colleges they found conconformists, whom they punished by summary ejection. ext proceeded to carry into effect their purpose as to the of the dead body of Mrs. Martyr. To give the face of to their proceedings, they thought it necessary to go through rm of trial, as had been done in reference to the burning of ies of Bucer and Fagius. In the case of the latter, the Camcommissioners cited the dead Reformers three different times ar to answer for themselves, or any others who might be willppear to answer for them; and after these three citations, the not rising from their graves to defend themselves, nor any appearing in their defence, "for fear," as Burnet observes, "of at after them." the commissioners entered upon the trial by mination of witnesses. Whether the Oxford commissioners rough the farce of citing Mrs. Martyr to appear to answer elf, we are not informed; but they summoned all who, so far could learn, had any acquaintance or intimacy either with with Martyr, to appear before them, to be examined as they knew about her heretical principles. Many appeared lence to the summons, and they were closely questioned and sestioned upon oath as to her religious tenets, but no evidence heresy was extracted, all of them, without exception, having I that, on account of the imperfect manner in which she spoke dish language, they knew not what were her religious senti-

the commissioners succeeded in proving her heretical pravity, ould have proceeded exactly as the Cambridge commissioners as on their establishing the charge of heresy against Bucer gius. They would have condemned her as an obstinate hereered her dead body to be dug up and delivered to the secular power, as were living heretics, not mentioning, though it was well known, that it was for the purpose of being burned. Then they would have sent a messenger with the sentence to the court at London, in which Cardinal Pole was now the ruling spirit; and in the course of a few days the messenger would have returned, bringing with him orders to burn the dead body of the condemned heretic.

But having failed in proving her heresy, the commissioners had no authority from the canon law for passing sentence that her dead body should be dug up and delivered to the secular power to be burned. They therefore broke up their sittings without pronouncing upon her any condemning sentence whatever, a circumstance somewhat wonderful, for Popish persecutors have rarely hesitated to punish persons who had excited the suspicion of heresy, however lame the proofs to support the charge. On their return to London they informed the cardinal of all that they had done in the execution of their delegated powers; how they had thrust out many from the colleges for heresy, how they had burned the Bible, and how they had made a searching inquiry into the supposed heretical opinions of Mrs. Martyr, but that, eliciting no evidence against her, they had dropped the case. The cardinal, however, if he was pleased to forego the revenge of burning her body, was not inclined to allow her to escape without some indignity. Shortly after, he wrote a letter to Dr. Marshall, deacon of Christ Church, Oxford, instructing him "that he should cause the body of Katharine, wife of Peter Martyr, to be dug up, because it lay near the body of the most holy Frideswide." This surely was no proof of the gentleness of manners, and humanity of disposition, for which Pole's friends have eulogized him: it looks like cruelty of no ordinary kind thus to disgorge its venom, not only upon the living, but upon the dead in their graves. In giving these instructions to Marshall he would, had Mrs. Martyr been proved to be a heretic, have been yielding obedience to the canon law, but the proof of Mrs. Martyr's heresy had never been made out by his commissioners. He had not, therefore, the sanction canons of his own church for ordering her dead body to tumeliously treated.

d not have committed the business to a more fitting perarshall, a violent and furious man, quite familiarized with who entered with heart and soul into every persecuting Delighted with the commission he had received, he was ry it into execution, and he had many associates ready a assistance in so grateful a service. He communicated 's command to his pot companions, with whom he had many a scene of wild and roaring debauchery, and they olved to execute the task on an evening, for the sake On the evening appointed they were assembled togearousing over their cups. The work in prospect was heme of their talk. A company of drunken jockeys y have been more boisterous. The toasts went round; rinking each other's health, they did not forget to drink nation of heretics, and damnation to the soul of the I dame whose rotten bones and mouldering dust they to disturb. "By the Virgin Mary, by St. Frideswide," we shall give her a surprise to-night; we shall awake from her dreams; that we will." They gave her the stiluggs because she was somewhat corpulent. Late in when it was dark, leaving off their Bacchanalian orgies, nd his associates, accompanied by workmen previously carried their spades and mattocks along with them, the church, to the grave of Mrs. Martyr. The work of t commenced; her remains were dug up, and, by the orders they were placed upon the shoulders of one of the workrried away to a dunghill in the neighbourhood of his ere, as being unworthy of Christian sepulture, they were nceremoniously, and with more malignity, than if they e carcass of a dog. "Such was the brutal scene," says nacted by wicked men in those infamous times, when imtaken possession of England that the baser and the more

D.

aished man should receive such "a recompense of ingratitude" ave the corpse of his wife, who was a godly woman and a r, who was kind to many, especially to the poor, and injurious, either by word or deed, spitefully dug out of her grave and in a dunghill without any authority, even from the canon from the laws of England, bad as many of them were in the Mary. "To all good natures," says Foxe, "the fact seemed and of such as be imbued with humanity, utterly to be d."

commissioners sent instructions to certain trustworthy Proin the university of Oxford to make inquiry into the whole tances connected with Mrs. Martyr's exhumation, and to wash stain of infamy from Oxford by removing her body from the I into which it had been thrown, and publicly burying it in onourable place. The persons to whom this business was d, called before them all who had been concerned in the exeansaction, or who could communicate to them any particulars ng it. By this means they succeeded in gaining the necesormation. They were shown, in the north part of Christ not far from the tomb of Frideswide, the spot where Mrs. had been buried upon her death. They were next conducted aughill, in the neighbourhood of the stables of Dr. Marshall, ch her body, when disinterred, had been cast. The corpse up; and the disjoined members were carefully collected into a rried to the church, and committed to the care of the church , who were ordered to watch over them until an opportunity be afforded, on one of the most celebrated holy days, for a mber of people to assemble, and re-inter them, with every honour, in Christ Church.

s James Calfhill, sub-dean of Christ Church College, was dy making all the preparations requisite for an honourable he accidentally discovered, in the most concealed part of the two little silk bags, in which were carefully covered and up a parcel of bones, said to be the bones of St. Frideswide. As this Popish saint, according to the tradition, back as the eighth century, it is very doubtful whether the bones. But the priests affirmed that they were hers, and them practised the same impudent tricks and impositions



The Shrine of St. Frideswide.

systematically means of the re saints, thereb large contribu the people, who ignorance and s eagerly believe tues attributed of the saint, miracles wroug The canons of religiously pres and on holy wont to take the bags and upon the alta: view, that the worshipped b great reverenc perstitious might then be

ing themselves prostrate before the exhibited relics hands clasped together, and remaining in that posture as

¹ St. Frideswide is said to have lived in the first half of the eighth of have been the daughter of Didane, a petty king in those parts, by his About the year 730, Didane, according to the tradition, founded a mun to the honour of the Virgin Mary and All Saints, consisting of twelve birth, under the government of his own daughter, Frideswide. Upon he wide being buried within the building, and afterwards canonized, the recess of time was dedicated to her memory, and generally called by gradually became enriched by the liberality of different monarchs, an flourish until it was suppressed by Cardinal Wolsey, who obtained from

among other delusions connected with this patron saint, the ributed to her such power and sanctity, that they affirmed hurch would fall into ruins were her bones removed from walls, and the gulls of the priests as fully believed this ieved in their own existence. Calfhill, rightly judging that e unchristian to imitate the barbarity of the Papists, did o offer any indignity to the bones of the Popish saint, noting the impious and blasphemous uses to which they ed, for though they might not be her bones, yet they were hose of some human being. He therefore ordered them to I with the bones of Mrs. Martyr-a revolting idea to the out this mixture served, and was intended for, a twofold By rendering it impossible to distinguish between the bones at and those of the heretic, it would secure Mrs. Martyr's absequent indignity of disinterment, should Popery again n England, and it would prevent in future the idolatrous f St. Frideswide's. The bones of the heretical lady could honoured by being taken up and cast into some vile place, similar degradation being done to the bones of the Popish I should any attempt be afterwards made to dig up the the latter for Popish idolatrous purposes, they might be for those of Mrs. Martyr, and thus the blunder committed

is, the one dated 1524, and the other 1525, for the dissolution of twentys houses, whose revenues, amounting to nearly £2000 per annum, might ted to the establishment of two colleges which he proposed to erect, the ch, the place of his birth, and the other at Oxford, the place of his educacollege at Oxford was built on the spot where St. Frideswide's convent twas dedicated to the praise, glory, and honour of the Holy Trinity, the , St. Frideswide, and All Saints. Its name at first was " Cardinal Colwas afterwards changed into that of "Christ Church College." The be college is the same which belonged to the monastery of St. Frideswide, th the saint and her parents lie entombed. "Prior Philip," says Ackerog in 1814, "erected in the church the beautiful shrine of the patroness ide, still remaining, into which he transferred her remains in 1180. It is elegant structure, erected over a tomb, which had on it the effigy of a man in brass, now torn off, and are said to have been those of Didane and Saf-Parents of the saint."-Ackermann's History of the University of Oxford, 55-57, 72, 74

of worshipping the bones of a heretic. An oration has delivered to a numerous auditory, declaring the reasons of sent proceedings, the remains of Mrs. Martyr, with the bound of Frideswide enclosed in the same chest, were deposited in on grave in the upper part of the church, towards the east, we solemnity, amidst a large concourse of the principal inhaloxford, on January 11, 1561.

On the day following, which was the Sabbath, one of th of the university, named Rogerson, delivered a pious, lear appropriate discourse to a numerous auditory. He dwelt common destiny of mankind as subject to mortality, and atoning blood and sacrifice of Him who hath brought lif mortality to light by the gospel. He took the opportunity by the occasion, of animadverting upon the oppression, inju cruelty of the late reign, and of congratulating his hearers happy change which a merciful Providence had brought about accession of the Princess Elizabeth to the throne. He mad able mention of that noble army of martyrs who were c to the flames for the Word of God and the testimony Christ, eulogized their integrity and purity of life, their fortitude, and faith in the prison and at the stake. He spok mendation, though not with exaggerated praise, of Mrs. whose dead body, after being buried for the space of two f had been dug from the grave, and treated by Popish persect greater ignominy than they would have done to the carcass beast. He proposed her life as an excellent pattern for and exposed Popish cruelty as a rock to be avoided. bringing forward these facts was not to wound the hear pious by reviving the memory of that tyrannical domination which England had suffered so much, but rather to animat magnify God for having delivered them from it, and to stir to combine their energies for the utter overthrow of the tian interest.

To put farther honour upon Mrs. Martyr, Latin and Gree

ative of her worth and condemnatory of the inhumanity owards her dead body, composed by eminent scholars of ity of Oxford, were posted upon the church doors. As spected from men who had escaped, as from a shipwreck ike, the barbarous and shocking cruelties of the preceding verses, which are printed in the work already referred nief authority in this sketch, are written with something ions of shuddering horror at the persecuting and sanguithat had raged, and with strong feelings of gratitude to for the deliverance of the nation, when brought to the in by Popery and tyranny. The first of them, written by fhill, begins thus:- "The Pope at that time ruling suviolent herd of wolves entered and destroyed the pious Lord. The mitred leaders entered, tyrants entered, fillwith slaughter and blood. Nor could the bodies of living aed on the dreadful funeral pile, satisfy these savage becast out heretical corpses, not long buried, from their es, and exercised their ferocity on rotten bones. Neither feeling, nor reason, nor piety, could subdue their outrance. A woman who, an exile from her native country, eat honour and succour to our city-a woman on whose ras no stain, and who, when on her death-bed, had given imony of her faith in God, being torn from her grave and f, what is above all, her honourable reputation, suffered ameful indignities, by being thrown into a filthy place." next compares these cruel persecutors to Achilles, who, n Hector, dragged the dead body of the Trojan hero at his nd the walls of Troy, and only restored it to Priam, Hec-, for honourable interment, on receiving a large pecuniary Next passing to the altered auspicious state of affairs, he could that truculent treading down power continue long, g the avenger. Better fortune, exceeding their expectalow returned to the wretched, and fostering piety possesses

¹ Homer's Iliad, book xxii.

its ancient abode. Therefore, now receive, O Katharine, the h
of thy old sepulchre—now possess that to which thy piety el
thee."

In another of these poems the author says, "The heathen dr violating an old sepulchre, whilst yet reason was their sole te Romulus and Solon prohibited by law any even to speak ill dead. Darius, having dared to violate the tomb of Semiram not find gold, but was met with this inscription, 'Ah miserable ah! you would be unwilling to disturb the hidden receptacles dead, were you not wickedly persuaded by idleness, the bell riches.' But ye Popish devotees, members of the tyrant Anti commit crimes more hideous than Darius. He, pitifully laugh lost the gold; ye heap up wealth by means of disinterred He was deceived; ye practice deception upon all, in giving bones to be the objects of our worship. But, O ye shaveli gave not the bones of Katharine Martyr to be honoured, ye du up to be dishonoured in a dunghill. Say, what has she des What crimes has she, being dead, committed? If while in did mischief, she has done nothing of the kind since her death committed crimes,' you say, 'in not offering incense to Baal; alive she was guilty of heresy.' O happy Mrs. Martyr! take by a propitious death; hadst thou, on whom, when dead, ment has been inflicted for the heretical noxiousness of thy lit forcibly taken, when living, out of the desolated flock, thou sh have been burned a martyr, even as thou wert Martyr by The author closes by exulting at the thought that the Papi been unable, by fire and sword, and all their persecuting app to prevail, God having interposed for the deliverance of the opp

Thus did the Reformers, on the accession of Elizabeth, vi the dead, whose sepulchres the persecutors in their frantic raviolated.

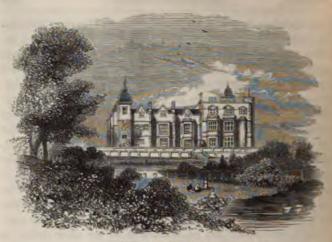
The Papists having been twitted by the Protestants for the treatment of Mrs. Martyr's remains, as an apology for their countries they laboured to bring discredit upon her reputation. This

oinders, in which her honest name was amply vindicated. ge Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in an exork against the Romanists, defends her memory from their it defamatory attacks. He testifies both to her worth and , and his testimony is of greater value as resting on inforerived from persons to whom she was personally known. s," says he, "reasonably corpulent, but of most matron-like for the which she was much reverenced by the most. She ngular patience, and of excellent arts and qualities. And, her things for her recreation, she delighted to cut plumbto curious faces, of which, exceedingly artificially done, I one, with a woman's visage and head attire on the one side, shop with his mitre on the other, which was the elegant per hands. By divers yet living in Oxford [1604] this good remembered and commended, as for her other virtues so berality to the poor, which by Mr. Foxe, writing how she ed after her death, is rightly mentioned. For the love of gion and the company of her husband, she left her own to come into England in King Edward's days."1

1 Abbot against Hill, p. 144.







Hatfield House, Hertfordshire-

QUEEN ELIZABETH.



UEEN ELIZABETH'S history is inseparably connected with the general history of the Reformation in her day. Whatever were the defects of her character and government, she was certainly an extraordinary woman, and the instrument, in the hand of

Providence, of preserving the reformed cause from extermination, not only in England, but in all its European establishments. A full narrative of her life we do not, however, here propose. This would carry us far beyond the limits of the present undertaking. Only some of the most prominent points in her history can be glanced at.

Elizabeth, second daughter of Henry VIII., by his queen, Anne Boleyn, was born at the royal palace of Greenwich, on the 7th of September, 1533. At her birth her fortune seemed bright and auspicious; but the frenzied temper of her father soon overclouded even her

1 State Papers, vol. i., p. 407.

cy with calamity; and in early life, till she ascended the throne, has exposed to much mortification, suffering, and danger. She not completed the third year of her age, when the cruel fate of aother deprived her of the affection of her father, who became ted from the daughter of the queen whom he had murdered; by the Parliament which met in June, the month after her er's execution, her father's divorce from her mother was ratified; he, as well as Mary, daughter of Katharine of Aragon, was red illegitimate, and excluded from the succession to the crown, was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or by any quent wife he should marry. Henry, however, soon after the of Prince Edward, restored both her and Mary to the right of sion by his obedient Parliament, and he specially recognized right in his will.

on her father's marriage with Katharine Parr, Elizabeth, as we already seen, prosecuted her studies under the superintendff that queen, who was so eminently qualified to imbue her with the principles of virtue, piety, and wisdom, to develope her so ff understanding, and to give refinement to her manners. her father's death she was committed to the care of Katharine, ithin a short time, the conduct of the unprincipled Lord Admigmour, Katharine's fourth husband, who had presumed to take oming liberties with the young princess, rendered it necessary to be the contemplated marrying Elizabeth, whose heart he artainly succeeded in gaining; but the lords of council interposed negative, and laid the princess under stricter surveillance.

mbeth was first taught the Greek and Latin languages by Wil-Grindal, an accomplished scholar, and the beloved friend of Ascham, under whom he had prosecuted the study of classical ag at Cambridge during a period of seven years; and from an ent capacity and steady application, aided by the assiduous ex-

e Life of Katharine Parr, chap. ii., p. 203.

² Ibid., chap. iii., p. 232.

ertions of her tutor, she made great progress in learning. Upon the death of Grindal, by whom her studies had been superintended for some years, Roger Ascham was appointed his successor, and the work which Grindal had so happily begun, he diligently laboured to complete. Under her new tutor she pursued the study of Greek and Latin for two years. From one of Ascham's letters to his friend, John Sturmius, rector of the Protestant academy of Strasburg, written in 1550, we are furnished with some interesting particulars as to the pains bestowed upon her early education, and as to her distinguished proficiency, and her promising excellence of character.

"Numberless honourable ladies of the present time surpass the daughters of Sir Thomas More in every kind of learning; but amongst them all, my illustrious mistress, the Lady Elizabeth, shines like a star, excelling them more by the splendour of her virtues, and her learning, than by the glory of her royal birth. She has accomplished her sixteenth year; and so much solidity of understanding, such courtesy, united with dignity, have never been observed at so early an age. She has the most ardent love of true religion, and of the best kind of literature. The constitution of her mind is exempt from female weakness, and she is endued with a masculine power of application. No apprehension can be quicker than hers, no memory more retentive. French and Italian she speaks like English; Latin with fluency, propriety, and judgment; she also spoke Greek with me frequently, willingly, and moderately well. Nothing can be more elegant than her handwriting, whether in the Greek or Roman character. In music she is very skilful, but does not greatly delight. . . . She read with me almost the whole of Cicero and a great part of Livy: from these two authors, indeed, her knowledge of the Latin language has been almost exclusively derived. The beginning of the day was always devoted by her to the New Testament in Greek, after which she read select orations of Isocrates, and the tragedies of Sophocles, which I judged best adapted to supply her tongue with the purest diction, her mind with the most excellent precepts, and her exalted station with a defince against the utmost power of fortune. For her religious instruction, she drew first from the fountains of Scripture, and afterwards from St. Cyprian, the Common Places of Melancthon, and similar works, which convey pure doctrine in elegant language." Ascham's commendations are corroborated by other unexceptionable contemporary testimonies, and by Elizabeth's whole history.

Elizabeth was the great favourite of her brother Edward, and she tenderly loved him in return. Their similarity of talents and education, their devotion to the same kind of studies, their attachment to the reformed religion, conspired to endear them to each other. Besides, Katharine Parr, under whose superintendence both of them were placed, fostered in them the tender affections; and after Elizaboth left Katharine's roof, they appear to have been much together; and are said to have assisted each other in the joint prosecution of their studies. Edward was wont to call her, perhaps from her simple mostentatious dress and manners, his sweet sister, Temperance; and, with her reciprocation of tender sisterly affection, she combined that deferential respect due to his rank as the sovereign of England. During their absence from each other they frequently corresponded, and interchanged tokens of mutual affection.2 Yet Edward, from his great facility of disposition, was prevailed upon, on his death-bed, to dispose of the crown to Lady Jane Grey, to the exclusion of both his nisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was not equally beloved by her sister Mary, who regarded her with a secret jealousy, and who, on ascending the throne, subjected her to not a little persecution. She had no good-will towards her as being the daughter of Anne Boleyn, who was the cause of her mother's divorce, and of the bitter mortification which

Ascham's Epistola, quoted in Miss Aikin's Memoirs of the Court of Queen Eliza-

^{*}A number of her letters to him, some in Latin and some in English, have been remained to our times: the former distinguished, in a high degree, for purity and engage of diction; the latter for the quaint metaphorical style for which she seems to have had an early predeliction, and which she afterwards carried to a vicious excess, fewerd of them are printed in Ellis's Original Letters, first series, vol. ii.; and in Miss Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain, vol. iii.

she herself had been doomed to submit to during her father's lifetime. She, besides, became jealous of her as a rival in love; for the handsome and accomplished Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, to whom Mary was ardently attached, and whom she desired to marry, did not return her affection; but, slighting her, was enamoured of her more youthful and engaging sister, Elizabeth. The first act of her first Parliament, by declaring the validity of the marriage of her father and mother, and by annulling the sentence of their divorce, having virtually reduced Elizabeth again to the condition of a bastard. Mary treated her as such, assigning to the descendants of her father's sisters a precedency to her in court ceremonial. Many other indignities Elizabeth had to bear with from the queen; and having obtained the royal permission, to be free from such slights and affronts she was glad to retire into the country, where, however, she continued under the vigilant inspection of two principal servants in her household, in the confidence of the crown. Upon the breaking out of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, in 1554, the tranquillity of her retreat was disturbed. She was accused of having been privy to this insurrection, and her life was now exposed to imminent peril. To defeat the proposed marriage of Mary with Philip II. of Spain, to which there was a general aversion in the nation, appears to have been the sole object of Wyatt; and he still professed inviolable fidelity to the person of the reigning sovereign; but some, at least, of the insurgents had the farther object in view of dethroning Mary, and of bestowing the sovereign power upon Elizabeth, whom they proposed to marry to Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon. The reports in circulation, that these were the objects of the conspiracy, strongly excited the jealousy of Mary against her sister Elizabeth, whom she now hated on two additional grounds: first, as being the great favourite of the nation, and the chief hope of the Protestants; and secondly, as a conspirator against her throne; though, upon the strictest investigation, no evidence was discovered of Elizabeth's being a party in the insurrection, or giving it her approbation.

After the rising of Wyatt, Elizabeth, though in a state of severe

illness, was brought prisoner from Ashridge to London, whither she arrived on the 23d of February. Mary declined seeing her, and caused her to be accommodated in a part of the palace from which neither she nor her servants could go out, without passing through the guards. The only part of her suite permitted to wait on her were two gentlemen, six ladies, and four servants, the rest of her train being lodged in the city of London. She was conveyed prisoner to the Tower on Sabbath, the 21st of March.

Among all the enemies of Elizabeth none was more persevering in pushing on the prosecution against her and Courtenay, and none more intent upon bringing both of them to capital punishment, than Simon Renard, ambassador of Charles V. He was extremely disattisfied at the slowness of the proceedings, and blamed Bishop Gardiner as the main cause of the delay, representing the bishop as intending thereby to save the lives of the two distinguished pri-** Mis letters to Charles evince throughout a spirit of intense hatred to Elizabeth, and an unmitigated desire to get rid of her as speedly as possible. This must have been in conformity with the counsels of Charles; for, had it not been so, Renard would hardly have dared, as he does, to dwell emphatically on the subject in his letters to his master. Charles hated Elizabeth because she was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, the cause of the divorce of his aunt from Henry VIIL; and if the death of this princess would tend to establish the authority of Mary, and remove the obstacles to the popularity of the marriage of his son Philip with that queen, as he was erroneously taught to believe, he was prepared to make the sacrifice. It was well for Elizabeth that at this time Mary's councillors were divided on the Spanish match, one party favouring it, and another, headed by Gardiner, opposing it. Gardiner's hostility to the Spanish faction, and not any attachment he felt towards Elizabeth, led him, for a short time, to thwart their intentions of involving her and Courtenay in destruction.2

¹ See his letter to the emperor, dated March 14, 1554, in Tytler's Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, vol. ii., p. 337.

Gardiner, however, finding that Mary was bent upon marrying Philip of Spain, soon yielded in his opposition to the match, and fell in with the Spanish faction, which greatly increased Elizabeth's danger. Not being disposed to sacrifice Mary's favour and the advantages of place for the praise of justice and moderation towards Elizabeth, he abandoned the protection of the princess, and concurred with her enemies in the proposal to put her to death. Renard was strenuous in urging this sanguinary deed, as a preliminary step to Philip's landing in England as the queen's consort. "I observed to the queen," writes he to Charles, "that it was of the utmost consequence that the trials and execution of the criminals, especially of Courtenay and of the Lady Elizabeth, should be concluded before the arrival of his highness."1 To this the queen replied, "that she had neither rest nor sleep on account of her anxiety for the security of his highness at his coming." Gardiner, perceiving that Renard's proposition was not unacceptable to her majesty, recommended its adoption as a measure necessary for the public good. "As long," said he, "as Elizabeth is alive, there is no hope of the tranquillity of the kingdom. If every body went as roundly to work, in providing the necessary remedies as I do, things would go on better." Gardiner's expressed apprehension that, from Elizabeth's popularity, new commotions might arise from renewed attempts to raise her to the throne, to the exclusion of her sister, who had lost the popular favour. was not unplausible, and Mary, who felt the force of his observation, was extremely desirous to find evidence of Elizabeth's being a party in Wyatt's rebellion, in order to bring her to the block. But, notwithstanding the most persevering efforts, no proof of her guilt could be discovered.

What, then, was to be done with a princess who had already eclipsed the queen in popular favour, and to whom many had begun

3 Ibid., vol ii., p. 365.

[&]quot;If they let her go," says Renard, in another letter to Charles, "it seems evident that the heretics will proclaim her queen." And in another he says, "Your majesty may well believe in what danger the queen is, so long as both [Elizabeth and Courtenay] are alive."—Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 375, 400.

as the chief hope of the nation from the tyranny with which now threatened? This was a perplexing question to Mary councillors. Failing to find adequate ground for Elizabeth's nation, Gardiner proposed to have her declared incapable of ng the crown. "Behold he whom you wot of" [Gardiner], mard, in a letter to Charles, dated 28th April, 1554, "comes nce dinner with a sudden and strange proposal; saying that, atters against Madame Elizabeth do not take the turn which hed, there should be an act brought into Parliament to disher." So determined was Gardiner upon this point, that ght in a bill before the new Parliament for declaring her ate and incapable of succeeding to the throne. The bill was by a large majority. But still persisting in his object, and recourse to his usual circuitous policy, he soon after brought her bill for investing the queen with the power conferred er father by his servile Parliament—that of appointing a In this again he was defeated. It being confidently that the queen, in default of children of her own body, would h the crown to her husband Philip, the House of Commons, and patriotic to deprive Elizabeth of her rightful inheriad in dread of being brought under the yoke of a foreign hrew out the bill.

dom, and to marry her to some foreign prince. Taking their rom the proverb, "Out of sight, out of mind," her enemies that in that case she would soon be forgotten by the people, ht, without difficulty or danger, be excluded from the succes-After having communicated at great length with Paget," nard, in a letter to Charles, dated 3d April, 1554, "on the of the said Elizabeth, he told me that if they could not find rough to bring her to death, he saw no surer expedient to the than to send her out of the kingdom, to be married to a." and he suggested "the Prince of Piedmont" for her con-

¹ Tytler's Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, vol. ii., p. 382.

there he remained for twelve months. Nor was she particularly betunate in her keeper, Sir Henry Beddingfield, who is said to have



Woodsteek, A.D. 1714.

rested her with great rudeness and severity, using his office more less jailer than a gentleman. By this rigorous confinement her balth became much impaired, and on the 8th of June, two physicians were sent from the court, who attended her for several days.

What she said to him, upon her accession to the throne, on dismissing him from he court, has been adduced in proof of this: "God forgive you what is past, as we do; and if we have any prisoner whom we would have straitly kept and hardly handled, we as send for you." Some writers question the truth of Beddingfield's using her harshly, and affirm that these words were spoken to him in jest, resting, as their authority, upon he facts that he was afterwards frequently at her court, and that she honoured him what a visit on one of her progresses. But this is scarcely a sufficient vindication of beddingfield; for Elizabeth, as is well known, is entitled to the praise of having parocally forgiven such as had acted towards her with cruelty in the time of her inter; and she even placed some of them in honourable situations in or under her premenent.

Never is liberty felt to be so sweet as under the irksome restraints of captivity. Hearing one day, out of her gard maid singing cheerfully in the fields, Elizabeth wished he same humble condition, saying that the life of that poor was happier than hers. Yet her firmess of mind was no Neither the threatenings nor promises of Mary's council of from her an admission of any act or intention of disloyather sister. A friend having advised her to appease the pleasure by submissive acknowledgments, she absolute "If I have offended," said she, "and am guilty, then mercy, but the law, which I am certain I should have he if guilt could be proved against me. But I know myself the danger of it, and wish I was as clean out of the penemies, and then I am assured I should not be so locked up within walls and doors as I am."

During the last years of her sister's reign, Elizabeth influence of fear, dissembled, by conforming to the Rom mode of worship. But she was, notwithstanding, suspec still a Protestant in sentiment. While she was a prison stock, Gardiner made repeated attempts to betray her i ration of her faith, examining her particularly upon question of the real presence in the eucharist. But, thou of the counsel of friends, she proved herself in adroitm match for the wily prelate. When he interrogated her as to the meaning of these words of the Saviour, "This which is broken for you," she gave the following ingenior answer:—

"Christ was the word that spake it, He took the bread and brake it, And what that word did make it, That I believe and take it;"

an answer from which it would puzzle Gardiner, by al

extract an opinion either for or against transubstantia-

to end of April, 1555, she was finally removed from Woodbrought to Hampton Court, where she obtained an interher sister Mary. After being successively carried, during to several of the royal seats in the neighbourhood of the was permitted to establish herself at the palace of Hertfordshire, where she remained unmolested until the Mary; relieved from military guards, locked doors, and pection, her only restraints being that she could not a residence for another, and that she was under the surf Sir Thomas Pope, a humane man, who was appointed ith her.

h was mainly indebted for her liberation from Woodstock erference of Philip, her sister's husband, who, after he s country, certainly acted towards her the part of a friend, erhaps, the means of saving her life. Various consideraate policy might inspire or strengthen his zeal for her and liberty. In the event of her being cut off, as the to the throne was Mary Queen of Scots, who was bethe Dauphin of France, it was easy for Philip to see that, present queen die childless, the kingdom of England swell the greatness of France, which was already the dable rival of Spain. The interest he took in Elizabeth's also have resulted from his anxiety to soften the prethe English against him, and to acquire in the nation the of uprightness and clemency, as a means of paving the s being crowned King of England, a consummation to ais efforts had been directed ever since his marriage. Nor bable that, calculating on the contingencies of the future, entertained the hope that, in the event of the death of his een, whose health was in a somewhat precarious state, he in the hand of Elizabeth. But whatever were his motives ing his good offices in her behalf, she cherished towards

him through life the deepest gratitude, and always attributed to his interposition the preservation of her life from the malice of her enemies

Whilst resident at Hatfield, Elizabeth was permitted to make occasional excursions, on which occasions, from her increasing popularity, she was attended by a considerable retinue of nobility, knights, ladies, and gentlemen, on horseback. She was also sometimes permitted to indulge in the chase. She was honoured, too, with a visit from the queen, who now somewhat relaxed her severity, and she occasionally appeared at court upon invitation, where she was treated with the distinction due to her rank. But during her residence at Hatfield her time was mostly spent in retirement and in literary pursuits. Playing on the lute or virginals, embroidering gold or silver, reading useful works in her native tongue, studying the Latin, Greek, French, and Italian languages; such were the exercises in which she was chiefly occupied, and by which her mind was trained and prepared for at length presiding, with singular ability and success, over the affairs of a great empire.

She was residing at Hatfield when Queen Mary died, November 17, 1558, and here her first privy council was held, of which the chief member was Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, whom she appointed secretary of state.³ The appointment of Cecil to this office, which was in effect to that of prime minister, laid the foundation for the succeeding character and greatness of her extended reign. That illustrious and excellent man, than whom England has never produced a greater statesman, had been her secret correspondent and adviser during the period of her sister's reign, when she was harassed and persecuted; and on her elevation to the throne, her appreciation of his talents, together with a sense of gratitude, influenced her in her choice of him as her chief councillor. He directed her in the formation of her ministry, of which he continued the presiding genius to the close of his life, being a period of forty years, greatly contributing to give her government that vigour by which

Warton's Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 88.
 Ascham, Epist., pp. 51-53, 94.
 Strype's Annals, vol. i., part i, p. 8.

distinguished, and to avert from her and from the kingdom angers by which they were often threatened. In no other man did she repose with such entire confidence.

the 23d of November, Elizabeth, attended by a numerous train blemen, knights, gentlemen, and ladies, went from Hatfield to m, to take up her residence in the Tower, as had been the n of the new sovereign from time immemorial. On her way zh the capital she was greeted by the vast crowds of people assembled with joyful acclamations, which she returned with bland affability of manner of which she was so perfect a ss, and which was one of the main causes of her popularity ther subjects during the whole of her reign. On entering the in this new character, she could not forbear reflecting on the tudes through which she had passed; how the fortress which low her palace had a few years before been her dungeon, she lay, a helpless prisoner, exposed to the fury of powerful es, who thirsted for her blood; and as she contrasted her hard the past with the prosperous fortune of the present, her bosom d with devout emotions, and immediately on reaching the apartments, falling on her knees, she poured forth her grateful es to that merciful God who had brought her in safety through ingers to her present exaltation, in these words: "O Lord, hty and everlasting God, I give thee most hearty thanks, that hast been so merciful unto me as to spare me to behold this day! And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully s mercifully with me as thou didst with thy true and faithful at Daniel, thy prophet, whom thou deliveredst out of the den, the cruelty of the greedy and raging lions. Even so was I helmed, and only by thee delivered. To thee, therefore, only, inks, honour, and praise for ever. Amen!"

ving spent a few days in the Tower, she passed by water to rest Palace. About a fortnight after, the funeral solemnities of later being performed, she proceeded to Westminster Palace, and on the banks of the Thames. Preparations having been made for her coronation, she was conducted by a splendid water procession from that palace to the Tower.

On the 14th of January she proceeded from the Tower in great state to Westminster Abbey, to her coronation, attended by a numerous retinue of lords and ladies on horseback, all arrayed in crimson velvet, the trappings of their horses being of the same material, and preceded by trumpeters clothed in scarlet, blowing their trumpets, and by all the heralds in their coat-armour. All the streets were covered with gravel. Gorgeous and sumptuous pageants were erected, the devices of which formed no inconsiderable part of the attractions of that day. A particular description of the splendour of these pageants, and of the demonstrations of the people's enthuisastic loyalty in connection with them, is given in Holinshed.

Elizabeth was impelled by self-interest, as well as led by judgment, to take the side of the Reformation. The validity of her title to the English crown depended upon her following this course. Two popes, Clement VII. and Paul III., having long before pronounced the marriage between her parents to be null and void, and the offspring of that marriage to be illegitimate, had she acknowledged the Papal supremacy, she would, by the very act, have admitted the nullity of her mother's marriage and her own illegitimacy, and consequently that she had no title to the English crown; that she was a usurper, the sovereign of England de facto and by force, not de jure and by inheritance. In this case, Mary Queen of Scots, the grand-daughter of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., and sister of Henry VIII., would have been the lawful heir to the English crown, as was maintained by all the Papists in England and throughout the world, who stigmatized Elizabeth as the bastard daughter of Henry VIII. Of all this Elizabeth was fully aware; and her conviction that her submission to the Pope was incompatible with her

^{1 &}quot;The pageants of those days were erections of wood, placed across the principal streets in the manner of triumphal arches; illustrative sentences in English and Latin were inscribed upon them; and a child was stationed in each, who explained to the queen in English verse, the meaning of the whole."—Miss Aikin's Memoirs of the Coart of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i., p. 246.

ig her legitimate right to the throne, was confirmed by r which Paul IV. returned to the written notification of on, which she transmitted to him upon her sister's death, ir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome. His told Carne that England was a fief of the holy see; and s great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without pation, the title and authority of queen: that being illehe could not possibly inherit that kingdom, nor could he sentence pronounced by Clement VII. and Paul III. with Henry's marriage: that were he to proceed with rigour, punish this criminal invasion of his rights by rejecting all cations; but, being willing to treat her with paternal he would still keep the door of grace open to her: and would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compathe dignity of the apostolic see."1 Upon receiving this lizabeth recalled her ambassador, and became the more er determination not to submit to the authority of the ontiff. Here, as in other instances in the history of h Reformation, is conspicuously to be seen the hand of a rovidence, in leading the sovereign, from policy or interest, or further the reformed cause.

th's first Parliament assembled on the 23d of January, 1559.

e most important objects which engaged its attention, was ment of religion. The Popish bishops and prelates sat as in the time of Mary, the Protestant clergy not having a admitted to a seat in the House. The principal act in to religion passed in the Parliament was that which rethe crown its former jurisdiction over the church, and olished all foreign power repugnant thereto. This act, put an end to the Pope's authority over the Church of and conferred on Elizabeth the ecclesiastical supremacy, as y her father, Henry VIII. The passing of the act was

opposed by several of the lords temporal, and by nine bishop one abbot, who appear to have been all the prelates who sat House, a considerable number of that body having recently and others being absent.

Yet Elizabeth, while restoring the Protestant religion, reta belief in some of the doctrines of the Popish Church, and a for for much of the ceremonial of its gorgeous worship. She se have leaned to the doctrine of transubstantiation. She hel doctrine of clerical celibacy, and always spoke with strong is against the marriage of the clergy. At the solicitation of Burghley she connived at such marriages, but could not be pro upon to sanction their legality, and the children which sprun them were illegitimate till the accession of James L. She w satisfied with the ecclesiastical commissioners for their des images and other relics of Popery. An altar and a crucifi consecrated wax-candles burning around it by day, stood private chapel, greatly to the sorrow of the most distingui the English Reformers, as Jewel, Cox, Grindal and others.3 it has been said that she was little more than half a Protests affected as much of the Popish religion as could consist w maintenance of her own legitimacy and supreme headship of church.

Scarcely had Elizabeth been invested with sovereign power a conspiracy was formed by the Cardinal of Lorrain, and his the Duke of Guise, the maternal uncles of Mary Queen of whose influence was almost omnipotent at the court of Friedethrone the new queen, and to place upon the English throuniece, Queen Mary. By their instigation Henry II. of Frantafter the death of Elizabeth's sister, persuaded Mary Queen and his son Francis, her husband, to assume the title of K Queen of England, and to quarter the arms of England with of Scotland; and after the death of that sovereign, which to

1 Strype's Annals, vol. i. part i., pp. 82-87.

² Strype's Annals, and his Life of Archbishop Parker.

oth of July, 1559, Francis, who had succeeded to the French and Mary, called themselves "King and Queen of France, Lengland, and Ireland," and quartered the arms of England see of France on their coin, plate, chambers, chapels, wards, and bore them on all occasions.

dan of the Guises for raising Mary to the English throne, avade England; and France being unable to cope with that in naval power, they saw that they could only reach Engough Scotland. But before Scotland could be serviceable it was first necessary to suppress the Scottish Reformers, ald never join in any such attempt against a queen univerarded as the protectress of the reformed faith; and to supm, an unrelenting persecution and the destruction of their was resolved upon. This being once accomplished, it was d that England might be successfully invaded, and that as ueen of Scots was well known to be a devoted Roman all the English Roman Catholics, who were at that time is and zealous, would eagerly flock to her standard. But the easier devised than executed. The preliminary step of ing the Scottish Reformers originated the civil war between en Regent of Scotland, aided by the troops of France, and ls of the Congregation; and, with the assistance of Elizabeth, is of the Congregation triumphed, after the war had lasted ve months. The French were necessitated to enter into a rith England, by which the Scottish Reformers obtained sonable demands. The treaty was signed at Edinburgh, on f July, 1560. Thus were the plans of the Guises for dethronabeth, and investing their niece with the English crown, and thus was the French power finally overthrown in and the Reformation established in that kingdom.2

the efforts of her uncles to promote her elevation to the

t's History of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i., pp. 50, 51.

bertson's History of Scotland, book ii., where this plot of the Guises and

frure are ably and at length detailed.

English throne, Mary Queen of Scots was an approving instrument. Unwilling to renounce so ambitious a prospect, she refused formally to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh between France and England, by one article of which it was stipulated that Francis and Mary should henceforth cease to assume the title and bear the arms of the King and Queen of England. But the death of her husband, Francis II, in December, 1560, having dissolved her connection with the kingdom of France, by the aid of which she hoped to give effect to her claims on the English crown, she, in the meantime, from prudential considerations, dissembled her pretensions, and discontinued the use of the royal arms of England.

Yet Elizabeth continued to regard her with jealousy and suspicion, which Mary reciprocated; and by degrees an implacable hatred sprung up between them, resembling the fabulous quarrel, described by the ancient classic poets, between Juno and Venus. Elizabeth's jealousy of Mary has been often attributed mainly to envy of the personal charms of the Scottish queen. It arose more, perhaps, from the dread of her as a dangerous competitor for the crown of England. She had reason for apprehension on this ground; but it was a blemish in her character to entertain an unreasonable jealousy of all who were of the blood-royal, even where she had no cause for alarm. A striking instance of this occurs in the harshness and cruelty with which, in the exercise of the prerogative claimed by the sovereigns of England, of controlling the marriages of the princes and princesses of the royal blood, she treated the Earl of Hertford, and the Lady Katharine Grey, sister of Lady Jane Grey, on account of their marriage. As if she wished to occupy the throne for ever, she seemed to dislike whoever might by possibility succeed her.

Pius IV., who succeeded to the Roman see upon the death of Paul IV., who died in 1559, in his zeal to recover so important a kingdom as England to the Roman Catholic Church, soon turned his attention to Elizabeth. About four months after his consecu-

¹ Lady Katharine Grey being a descendant of Henry VII., by his second daughter, Mary, was a princess of the blood-royal.—See Appendix, No. V.

to her, by his nuncio, Vincent Parpalia, an insinuating g letter, earnestly entreating her to remove from her evil counsellors, and to follow his paternal admonitions, at it she did this he would confirm her regal authority. dated St. Peter's Palace, May 5, 1560.

positions were made to Elizabeth by the Pope, through not recorded. The common report was that, upon conr joining the Romish Church, he promised to annul, as sentence formerly pronounced by the Vatican against of her mother, to confirm by his authority the English to allow in England the celebration of the Eucharist in It may be doubted whether he promised so large conif he did so, whether he had any intention of granting

he position of the protectress of Protestantism through-Elizabeth, though with some reluctance, arising from her var, vigorously supported the oppressed Protestants in were struggling for freedom of conscience, and who had ns in self-defence. The Princes of Guise, with Philip wing entered into an alliance for the suppression of mance, the Prince of Condé, the leader of the French solicited her aid. She sent a strong force, as well as s of money, for the assistance of the prince, from whom in return, the possession of Havre de Grace, which commouth of the Seine, and was reckoned of greater imporven Calais, which the English had lost in the reign of At a subsequent period, namely, in 1568 or 1569, in appeal from Jane, Queen of Navarre, she sent to the uenots money to the value of £50,000, several pieces of a large supply of ammunition, cordially welcomed the estant refugees into her kingdom, and encouraged her rtend to them their assistance.3

Partly to strengthen her title to the English crown, Mary Queen of Scots married Lord Darnley, her cousin-german, who, after herself and his mother, was next heir to the English throne.1 Having obtained a dispensation from Rome, the marriage of cousins-german being within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, according to the regulations of the Romish Church, she and Lord Darnley were married on Sabbath, the 29th of July, 1565, in the chapel royal of Holyroodhouse. Had Mary acted with prudence, she might have proved an extremely formidable competitor for the English crown; but, from the violence and caprice of her passions, she soon after the marriage lost all affection for Darnley, and that fatal tragedy-his murder-(on the 9th of February, 1567) succeeded, which has entailed everlasting infamy on her memory. Her participation in this horrible deed, of which the evidence is too strong to be set aside, lost her the kingdom of Scotland, and rendered her much less powerful in maintaining her claims to the English throne against Elizabeth than she otherwise would have been. Still Elizabeth regarded her as a dangerous rival, low as her fortunes had now sunk; and therefore, after the defeat of Mary's forces at Langside, by Regent Moray, and her flight into England to Carlisle Castle, she made and kept her a prisoner in England, to deprive her of the means of soliciting the aid of other princes for her re-establishment on the Scottish throne, and for the prosecution of her claims upon the English crown. The wisdom of this policy, not to speak of its justice, may be doubted. It certainly had the effect of exciting the sympathy of all the Roman Catholis in England and throughout Europe for the sufferings of Mary; and it gave her and her partizans a plausible excuse for the numerous conspiracies, by which they were constantly exciting commotions in England, and involving even the personal safety of Elizabeth in imminent danger.

¹ He was the eldest surviving son of Matthew Stuart, fourth Earl of Lennos, sal afterwards Regent of Scotland, by his wife, Lady Margaret Douglas, only daughter and heiress of Archibald Douglas, seventh Earl of Angus, by his wife Margaret, sides of James IV., eldest daughter of Henry VII., and sister of Henry VIII.

, who succeeded to the pontificate in January, 1566, and a much more active and dangerous enemy than in or. To destroy her and to restore the Papal jurisdicand, to exterminate the Huguenots in France, and in in Europe—these were the great objects of his ambition; nergetic, enterprising, sanguinary, implacable, and perleft unemployed no means which his plotting head to accomplish the objects on which his heart was set, as was his pontifical reign, not extending in duration years, it was pre-eminently active and bloody; and hole of it Elizabeth was surrounded with perils, from extruction seemed almost inevitable.

year 1568, he formed a deep-laid and wide-spread conast her, the objects of which were, to cut her off, to ry in England, and to liberate Mary Queen of Scots, to the English throne. In prosecution of this scheme, despatched Mondovi as his nuncio to Scotland, with a money to be expended for the assistance of Queen Mondovi was prevented, by the vigilant activity of om getting farther than Paris. Roberto Ridolfo, a rich anker, a relative of the Medici family, and a bigoted tee, who was residing in England, under pretence of d in mercantile pursuits, acted there as the agent of his etly treating with the most influential of the Roman lose full confidence he possessed, as well as with many otestants, who, from different causes, were easily incited insurrection against their sovereign; and so successful hinations, that the greater part of the nobility entered e's conspiracy, and chose the Duke of Norfolk as their om they promised Mary Queen of Scots as his wife, lot succeed. The Pope had also, in 1569, despatched a in the person of a priest, called Nicolas Morton, to Engberance of the same design. While Ridolfo was thus stirring up the spirit of rebellion in England, some misunderstanding having arisen between Elizabeth and Philip II. of Spain, the Pope had the address to engage that monarch to favour the cause of the English conspirators, by representing to him that the overthrow of Elizabeth would be the most effectual way of his obtaining secure possession of Flanders, and by reminding him of the paramount claims of religion. He also managed to draw the court of France to support, to a certain extent, his enterprise. Fénélon, the French ambassador at the English court, relates, in his despatches to the French court, that he had aided the plot by all means in his power.

The plot being now matured, and preparations for its execution far advanced, his holiness urged the Duke of Alva, who was then governor of the Netherlands, and one of the most atrocious of persecutors, in a letter dated February 4, 1569-70, to aid the English insurgents, which the propinquity of Holland to England afforded him great facilities for doing. His holiness also poured oil upon the burning zeal of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most powerful, ardent, and impetuous of the conspirators, whom he styles "our beloved sons," "men dear to us and eminent, as well by the study of Catholic piety as by nobleness of birth." And to excite the insurrectionary spirit of the Roman Catholics in England, he issued, on the 25th of the same month, his famous bull against Elizabeth, without having previously cited her to appear at Rome, or given her warning, declaring her to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ-to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom of England, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever-and her subjects to be freed from their oaths sworn unto her, and from all duty, fidelity, and obedience, interdicting them from obeying her laws, and warning them that whoever should act

2 This letter to them is dated Feb. 20, 1569-70.

¹ The authorities for this conspiracy are Correspondance Diptomatique de Bertraud de Salignac de la Mothe Fénéton, edited by Cooper, in Recueit des Dépéches, &c.; and three contemporary biographers of Pius V., Catena and Gabutius, both Italians; Dan Antonia Fuenmayor, a Spaniard; and Pollini, a Florentine and Dominican, also a contemporary, in his Istoria Ecclesiastica, published at Rome, in June, 1594.

y to this injunction should fall under the same sentence.1 opies of the bull were secretly dispersed in England.

the efforts made to elevate the Queen of Scots to the English succeeded, the Reformation, both in England and throughout, would have been in the utmost danger of extermination; for a courts of England, France, and Spain, would have been considered in the resolute determination to crush it; and we know means, however dark and bloody, would have been shrunk achieve a consummation so devoutly wished for. But all forts failed of success.

Duke of Norfolk, after being tried and convicted of high by his peers, was executed on the 2d of June, 1572, four alf months after the pronouncing of his sentence; and his afflicted a fatal blow on Mary Stuart's party in England.

r herself was deeply implicated in the conspiracy of Ridolfo arfolk, with whom, as well as with Pope Pius V., Philip II. of and the Duke of Alva, she maintained a secret correspond the subject.² This greatly irritated Elizabeth, who said, in those terse sentences in which she often expressed herself-ough she frequently wrote confusedly, yet in speaking her as were singularly forcible—"I have tried to be a mother to sen of Scots, and, in return, she has formed conspiracies against a in my own kingdom; she who ill-uses a mother deserves a ne."² But when the House of Commons came to the resolutat the execution of Mary was also necessary to Elizabeth's saying that the axe must be laid at the root of the evil, she their requisition, by replying that she could not put to death

dated 5 Kal. Martii, 1569 (i.e., 25th February, 1570), and of our pontificate It is printed in the original in Cheribini's Bullarum, and in Sanders' De Schism., A translation of it is given in Camden's Elizabeth, book ii., p. 245; and in 's Protestant, vol. i., p. 158.

te Lebanoff's Collection, quoted in Mignet's History of Mary Queen of Scots, p. 94, 131, 133, 136, 137.

lon's Dépêches, in Cooper's Recueil des Dépêches, tom. ii., p. 169.

the bird which, to escape the pursuit of the hawk, had fled to her for protection.1

A new source of danger to Elizabeth arose from the Popish seminaries, instituted for the education of English Popish students abroad. In the year 1568, the Popish priests, who had fled from England into Flanders, formed themselves into a collegiate body at Douay, under Dr. William Allen, afterwards cardinal,* with the sanction of the Pope, from whom they received a monthly pension. Their professed object was the education of English youths, who were exiles in the Netherlands, as well as of others whom the fame of their college might attract from England, that thus England might be provided with a perpetual supply of Popish clergy. But, in point of fact, the seminary was intended to be, what it actually became, a nursery of sedition and treason against the person and government of Queen Elizabeth; and the young priests who issued from it employed themselves in seditious and treasonable practices against her. Elizabeth having complained of this to Requesens, then the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, this collegiate body were ordered to quit the Low Countries. By the patronage of the Guises they found an asylum in France, and the Pope sanctioned their establishment at Rheims, as well as gave them another foundation at Rome, which he liberally supported, and placed under the direction of the Jesuits. A third institution of the same kind was formed in Spain. Within the course of a few years, and particularly in 1580, and several of the following years, swarms of priests issued from these seminaries, from which they were called "seminary priests," penetrated into England, traversed the kingdom under various fictitious names, acted as spies, stimulated the people to disaffection, sedition, and treason, made lists of such as would support the meditated Spanish invasion, distributed money in prosecution of such practices, and maintained those treasonable agitations, which were fraught

¹ Mignet, vol. ii., p. 162.

² He was created a cardinal on the 28th of July, 1587, and in 1589 consecrated Bishop of Mechlin.

with such danger to Elizabeth's person and government, and which resulted in the banishment or judicial execution of many of these incendiaries and traitors.\(^1\) Elizabeth has been blamed, even by Protestant writers, for her severity in putting so many of them to death, and Popish writers, concealing or denying the treasonable practices pursued by these seminary priests and Jesuits, have stigmatized her as a persecutor, equalling or surpassing in cruelty the bloody Nero. But from a due consideration of her circumstances, it is manifest that, in the severe measures resorted to, and resorted to reluctantly, she was acting in self-defence. Her own safety laid her under the dire necessity of adopting vigorous measures against emissaries of such unceasing activity and desperate purpose, and who were the more active and desperate, knowing, as they did, that they were backed by formidable supporters on the continent, and by the faction of the Scottish queen in Elizabeth's own kingdom.

In the records of history there is perhaps no sovereign against whose life so numerous plots were formed, and so numerous attempts made, as against the life of Elizabeth. And yet none of these plots and attempts succeeded. The unseen protection of heaven never forsook her; for to what else but to this can we attribute the preservation of a life surrounded on every side by conspiracies, during a reign of more than forty years? and such was the state of Europe during that period, that the safety of the reformed cause seemed to depend upon her life. In the midst of these perils Elizabeth ever manifested calm, unshaken fortitude, partly arising from constitutional temperament, and partly from confidence in the protection of Providence. Even when her personal danger was greatest, her spirits never seem to have been agitated; she never concealed herself from the view of her subjects, nor ceased to perform her usual progresses through the country; a magnanimity which greatly increased the attachment of her subjects.2 A particular account of these numerous conspiracies we must pass over. One of them, namely, that of

¹ Turner's Modern History of England, vol. iv., pp. 345-351.

Bacon's Memoirs of Elizabeth, p. 183.

Babington and his associates, in 1586, has acquired greater historical importance than the others, because Mary Queen of Scots was involved in it, and because it led to her trial and execution. Babington's plot originated with Ballard, one of the seminary priests of Rheims, who having, in co-operation with the Spanish ambassador, and Charles Paget, a devoted adherent of Mary's, formed a plan for the invasion of England, proceeded to England, where he passed himself off as a military officer, and concerted with Babington, a man of good family, the assassination of Elizabeth, as an essential prerequisite to the success of the contemplated invasion. Babington's fanaticism was inflamed by Ballard's representations of the meritoriousness of killing an excommunicated heretical queen. The conspiracy was discovered, and the conspirators were seized and executed.

The co-operation of Mary Queen of Scots in the secret plots of the governments of Spain and France, and of a formidable Popish party in England, against Elizabeth, and her concurrence in Babington's conspiracy, which was established by incontestable evidence, at last determined the government of Elizabeth to bring Mary to trial for high treason. On the 28th of October, 1586, the judges commissioned by the crown to try her unanimously pronounced her guilty of compassing and imagining the death of the English queen. After repeated delays, and with much reluctance, Elizabeth at last signed the warrant for the execution of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, which took place at Fotheringay, on the morning of the 8th1 of February, 1587. "There is perhaps in all history," says Wright, "no greater moral lesson than that furnished by the history of these two queens-the one ascending the throne with the good-will of her own subjects, and supported by the Pope and the most powerful nations in Europe, lost her crown by her own crimes and vices, threw disgrace on the cause which she was expected to have made

¹ That is according to the old calendar, which was still in use in England, but the 18th, according to the reformed calendar of Gregory XIII. which was adopted by the Catholic states on the continent.

.]

is, dragged on a large portion of her life in a prison, and on a scaffold; while the other, surrounded on every side by rest enemies, with none but God and her own comparatively ources to depend upon, by her virtues and prudence raised dom to a high state of glory, made her subjects rich and and lived to see all the schemes of her enemies broken."

III. of France, Mary's brother-in-law, and James VI. of her son, had sent ambassadors to Elizabeth's court to ate against the extreme measures resolved upon against the Scots. But Elizabeth's danger from the revengeful resentthese sovereigns was not so formidable as at first sight might sed. The former was prevented, from various political from avenging Mary's death, dreading, as Mignet observes, e downfall of Elizabeth would pave the way for the aggranof Philip II., the elevation of the house of Guise, and his Similar considerations restrained the latter, who was endangering his succession to the crown of England by war with Elizabeth. She was exposed to more serious rom Philip II. of Spain, who, after Mary's death, laid claim nglish crown, which she had bequeathed to him-her son I. of Scotland, having, as she affirmed, forfeited his right resy-and resolved, without delay, to invade England, which 1588, the year after Mary's death, by his celebrated ar-He had been long conspiring to invade and conquer Engwhich he had been urgently pressed by successive popes, by al fanatical Spaniards, by English Popish fugitives, and by action in England. The idea dazzled his imagination. By vement so glorious he would not only gratify his exorbitant but would revenge himself upon England, which he hated the English people had opposed his marriage with their lary, and because they had never treated him very respect-

is prevented for ten years, in consequence of his protracted t's Queen Elizabeth and her Times; Introduction. 2 Ibid., vol. ii., p. 378.

wars with Portugal, from taking active measures to carry the design into effect. Now, however, a more favourable conjuncture presented itself, Portugal having been subdued; and his exasperation against England being mightily increased, on account of the depredations committed by her privateers and fleets on the coast of his American possessions, and on account of her assisting the Dutch in their war against him, so effectually as to offer him little prospect of being able to subdue them, he was intently thirsting for vengeance. In these circumstances he determined to execute the long-meditated design, and the old counsels, presented in the most plausible form, were reiterated in his ears by the Pope, Sixtus V., the determined enemy of Elizabeth, but the admirer of her abilities, and his confederate councillors. Among various plans suggested, that ultimately agreed upon was to provide a powerful navy for the transport of a numerous army to the mouth of the Thames, to surprise and seize upon the city of London, the key to the whole kingdom.

A fleet was accordingly fitted out in the ports of Spain, the best furnished with men and all sorts of military preparations which had ever ploughed the ocean before, and the proud Spaniards, not doubting of success, presumptuously termed it "The Invincible Armada"

To promote the success of the enterprise, Sixtus V. excommunicated anew Elizabeth, in a form of greater severity than even Pius V. had done, deposed her from her government, absolved her subjects from their allegiance, committed the invasion and conquest of her kingdom to his Catholic majesty, Philip of Spain, "to execute the same with his arms, and to take the crown to himself, or to limit it to such a potentate as the Pope and he should name;" and, as in the crusades against the Turks, bestowed, out of the treasury of the church, plenary indulgence upon all engaged in this holy war.² To excite the Roman Catholics of England to rebellion against their

I He was wont to say that he and she ought to have been married, and that a new Alexander the Great would have been the fruit of their union.

² Camden's Elizabeth, book iii., p. 255.—Turner's Modern History of England, vol. iv., p. 504.

as the Armada was advancing, Cardinal Allen published his is and treasonable Admonition to the Nobility and People of ed and Ireland, which, for the audacity of its falsehood and ation, has hardly ever been surpassed. "So monstrous and ous an heretic, rebel, usurper, firebrand of all mischief;" "that woman, the bane of Christendom and all their kingdoms; arge of God, and rebuke of woman kind;" "her heresy, sacriad abominable life;" "the pretended queen; the present cause ition of millions of souls; the very bane of all Christian kingand states;" "this tyrant;" "the infinite quantity and enorquality of her most execrable wickedness;" "her horrible res, murthering of saints, and rebellion against God's church;" mous bastard! born in sin, of an infamous courtesan, Anne " such are the flowers of rhetoric by which this cardinal oured, but happily without effect, to instigate the Roman ic nobility of England to insurrection and treason against overeign.

stile invasion from the monarch of the greatest empire then world, who possessed extensive dominions, a vast revenue, nuwell-disciplined armies, experienced and renowned gened who, besides, derived immense power from being the acknowhead of the Popish faction throughout Europe, was sufficiently ng. But the news of these terrible preparations only roused solution and patriotism of the English queen, her ministers, England. Elizabeth was a woman of no common courage. rs which would have unnerved most men, she encountered tranquil magnanimity. The magnitude of the danger only to give additional strength to her heroic spirit; and the intreof the whole nation corresponded to the greatness of the crisis. this occasion Elizabeth received the support even of her Roman lic subjects. Had Mary Queen of Scots been alive, and had avasion been undertaken professedly to place her upon the ah throne, they would, not improbably, have zealously risen up four of the invader. But they felt very differently when Philip, instead of contemplating an invasion to elevate a prince or princess of the blood-royal of England to the throne, now purposed to conquer England for himself, and to reduce it to a province of Spain. Great as was their irritation at the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, various considerations of personal interest, as well as natural love for the independence of their country, prevailed over the attachment of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry to the Romish faith, and led them to take the side of their native sovereign, and to all forth their numerous dependents for her defence against a foreign despot. Had he succeeded in laying England prostrate at his feet, they justly dreaded that they would be treated as the Anglo-Saxon nobility and gentry who supported William I. had been treated, whose honours and estates were seized upon by the Norman barons, while such as, animated by a more independent spirit, made resistance, being accounted rebels, were exposed to the penalties awarded to rebellion; and alarmed for the loss of their honours and estates, they were glad to combine for the protection of Elizabeth, as being a lesser evil, rather than assist a tyrant, who, if successful, would have deprived them of whatever they possessed, and made them his drudges-what the Gibeonites were to the Israelites, hewers of wood and drawers of water. An additional motive inducing them to join her standard, was an apprehension that the Pope, if the sword of Philip triumphed, would demand the restitution of all the monastery lands and property, a considerable portion of which was in possession of the leading Roman Catholic nobility and gentry. Only an insignificant portion of the Papists, consisting of the most bigoted, in whom patriotism was quenched by dominant fanaticism, and of such as, having little to lose, were impatient to become soldiers of fortune, were willing to see their country conquered and enslaved by the ruthless invader.

James, King of Scotland, deeply as his own interests were involved, displayed little energy in aiding Elizabeth in this great emergency. He was, however, sensible of his danger, and when

¹ M'Crie's Life of Melville, first edition, vol. i., p. 373.

Philip's success would cut him off from the succession a crown, he facetiously answered, characteristically red fashion, from the prince of the Greek poets, "I recourtesy of the Spaniard than such as Poliphemus Tysses, namely, that he would devour him the last rs.":

beth and her people adopted the most vigorous means ouraged by the justice of their cause, they did not forsexcitement and tumult of military preparations, to wes by prayer to Him who holds in his hand the deses and of nations. For guiding the devotions of the mposed a prayer, which was to be read in all the Wednesday and Friday.² The homilies for fasting g were also to be read, and the clergy were required promoting the devotional feelings of the people.

aniards made good their landing, such was the chivalf the queen, that she resolved to be present in the
between the invaders and her troops. Leicester, in a
lated 27th July, while he applauded "so princely and
nanimity," earnestly besought her not to expose her
ger, which might involve the whole kingdom in confubut to betake herself to her palace at Havering, where
effectually defended by the principal army, to which
ad safety were committed. He, however, suggested
at visit the encampment at Tilbury, which was not
miles distant from her palace of Havering, and "spend
lays there, to see both the camps and forts," by which
be endangered; for should the Spaniards be even able
ding, she could speedily retire to Havering, a place of
ty.

y to this judicious advice, she visited the army at Tilth of August. The Armada had then been defeated by eet, and though, from its distance and its torn and shatzabeth, book iii., p. 287. ² Strype's Annals, vol. iii., part ii., p. 15. tered state, little apprehension was entertained of its returning it was dreaded that the Duke of Parma might come up wit fleet and army under his command in Flanders, and renew th flict.1 On this occasion the assembled troops were drawn receive her on the hill near Tilbury Church. She presented l to them mounted on a noble white charger, holding in her h marshal's truncheon, bareheaded, and wearing on her breast a po steel corslet, below which descended a fardingale of large dimer She was attended only by the Earl of Leicester and the Earl mond, who carried the sword of state before her, and was fol by a page bearing her white plumed helmet. Riding alon ranks, she was greeted with bursts of thundering acclamation she animated both officers and soldiers to do their duty, by h trepidity of spirit, her smiling countenance, and her heart-st oratory. "My loving people," said she, in a spirit and tone of tial valour which would have done honour to the bravest mander, "we have been persuaded by some that are careful safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed mult for fear of treachery; but I do assure you I do not desire to l distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my ch strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my jects; and, therefore, I am come amongst you, as you see at this not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all-to lay for my God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my h and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body of a feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and king of England, too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spa

I On the 10th of August Sir Francis Drake, in a letter to Walsingham, says Prince of Parma I take to be as a bear robbed of her whelps; and, no doubt, be great a soldier as he is, he will presently, if he may, undertake some great mat his rest now standeth thereupon."—Hardwicke's State Papers, pp. 588, 587, Duke of Parma was therefore watched by Lord Howard, who had returned channel from pursuing the Armada. He, however, never left Flanders.

of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm; ather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself parms—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder ne of your virtues in the field. I know already, for rdness, you have deserved rewards and crowns, and we ou, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you natime, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than r prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not get by your obedience to my general, by your concord in and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a farry over these enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of

ular oration of her majesty, who was now in the fiftyfher age, was received with bursts of enthusiastic loyalty, to the utmost pitch the valour of the troops and of her our noble-hearted queen, said they, resolved to peril her than submit to the loss of her kingdoms, and the enslaver people; and shall not we be ready to march under her death or victory, in defence of all that is dear to us, of our altars, the independence of our country, the honour reign?

danger was now past. The Spaniards, having lost all acceeding in their enterprise, were now attempting to way homeward, amidst great dangers and disasters, by cotland and the Orkney Isles. Out of 134 ships of all ifty-three succeeded in reaching Spain, and that in a very andition. Not above fifteen of the English vessels bore of the conflict, and were required to repel the invaders. If them, and that a vessel of small size, fell into the hands my, and not above a hundred of their men were killed, I the shot of the Spanish fleet, from the height of their ng over the small English ships.

emorate the defeat of the Armada, two medals were struck, ring the device of a fleet flying under full sail, with the inscription, "Venit, vidit, fugit"—"It came, it saw, it fled," borrowed from the legend in reference to Cæsar, "Venit vidit, vicit"—"He came, he saw, he conquered;" and the other, intended more especially in honour of the queen, representing fire-ships scattering and throwing into confusion the Spanish fleet, with the motto, "Dux foemina fact"—"A woman conducted this action." It is a fact worthy of being noted, that in the year of the Spanish Armada Elizabeth caused to be printed the first gazette that appeared in England.

After the death of Mary Stuart and the overthrow of the proud Armada, no attempts were made to deprive Elizabeth of her throns, though still some plots were formed against her life. In her closing years she rendered important services to the cause of Protestantism on the continent. Henry III. of France having been assassinated by a monk at St. Cloud, in the summer of 1589, she assisted Henry IV., son of Jane, Queen of Navarre, and the next heir to the crown of France, in vanquishing the leaguers, who endeavoured to exclude him from the throne because he was a Huguenot. And she assisted the republic of the United Provinces in achieving their independence against the might of Spain. She thus became greatly instrumental in preventing the extirpation of Protestantism in France, and in securing its triumph in Holland.

Elizabeth testified her Protestant zeal by the reproachful letter she wrote to Henry IV. of France, upon her hearing that he had abjured the Protestant faith, and professed himself a convert to the Church of Rome. "Ah, what grief! ah, what regret! ah, what pangs have seized my heart at the news which Mordant [Henry's ambassador] has communicated! My God! is it possible that any worldly considerations could render you regardless of the Divine displeasure? Can we reasonably expect any good result can follow such an iniquity? How could you imagine that He, whose hand has supported and upheld your cause so long, would fail you at your need? It is a perilous thing to do ill that good may come of it."

¹ Camden's Elizabeth, book iii. 2 The letter is dated Nov. 12, 1593.—Miss Strickland's Queens of England, vol. vii., p. 165.

owever, to be regretted that, acting on the intolerant prin-Romanism, and doing violence to one of the first principles antism, the right of private judgment, she should have exself to the charge of persecuting her nonconforming fellowts, though it is extravagant to say, as has sometimes been she was hardly less intolerant of religious innovations sister Mary. Her treatment of the Anabaptists and of the casts a shade on the glories of her reign. All the Anapabnat period, even such of them as were peaceably disposed, no principles which the order and peace of society made it for civil government to put down, being confounded with us enthusiasts of Munster, were regarded with abhorrence Protestants; and this sect, not a few of whom having been om Holland and Germany by persecution, had betaken them-England, unhappily did not always find there the security sought. On the 23d of July, 1575, nine German Anabapbanished from England, and two burnt at Smithfield for ing "that Christ had not taken flesh of the Virgin Mary, ats ought not to be baptized, that a Christian ought neither agistrate, nor to bear the sword, nor to take an oath." "This first blood spilt by Elizabeth for religion, after a reign of years," says Sir James Mackintosh, and it "forms in the terity a dark spot upon a government hitherto distinguished, hat of any other European community, by a religious adion which, if not unstained, was at least bloodless." Then Puritans, who had appeared even during the reign of Ed-, and whose numbers were increased by the returned Marian m the continent, notwithstanding the persuasions of Lord , who strongly urged the impolicy of adopting severe meainst them,2 she continued to persecute them in various forms. I imprisonment were inflicted on such as refused to attend

of England, vol. iii, p. 170.
reasonings addressed to her on this subject, in Harleian Miscellany, vol. vii.,

their own parish churches. Such of the established clergy as discovered a tendency to Puritan principles, were deprived of their benefices, fined, and imprisoned. And in 1593, five of the Puritan leaders, chiefly for writing against Prelatic church government, were sentenced to death, and the sentence executed on all of them, except one, who died in prison.

In the microscopic examination to which the character of Elizabeth has been subjected, her personal foibles have furnished an ample topic for criticism. Among these was the evident pleasure she took in being addressed in the language of affected passion and admiring love. Yet she would never marry, numerous as were the candidates who aspired to the honour of becoming her husband; and many years before her death, while conversing freely on what should be the inscription on her tomb, she wished only one or two lines expressing her virginity, the period of her reign, her restoration of religion, and her preservation of peace.

Another of her foibles was the more than female weakness which, after becoming queen, she evinced in the adornment of her person, strikingly contrasting with her former simplicity in this respect, which had drawn forth the commendations of Aylmer; and in the sumptuousness of her apparel she became more vain and capricious as she advanced in years, dressing in her old age like a young girl. At her death her immense wardrobe contained three thousand dresses, in the fashions of every country; and she had delighted in appearing in these various costumes, giving them effect by the jewels, diamonds, and other precious stones which she wore.

Her temper, too, was imperious and violent, as well as wilful, like that of her father, and though she often showed her power of commanding it, yet, in "the whirlwind of her passion," her maids of honour sometimes felt the weight of her hand.⁴

Yet Elizabeth was a queen of great ability and wisdom. Indepen-

¹ Lord Bacon's Elizabeth, p. 187. 2 See Life of Lady Jane Grey, p. 261.

Beaumout's Dép., quoted in Carte's History of England, vol. iii., pp. 699, 702.

⁴ Ibid., vol. iii., p. 701.

ne testimony of her ablest minister, Lord Burghley, who te of her as the wisest woman he had ever known, there evidence that in the councils of her renowned cabinet for government shone conspicuous. In her interviews mbassadors of foreign courts upon public business, she n ability not inferior to that of the most experienced s in discussing questions of policy, questions often springhe course of conversation, as to which she could derive dvantage from previous consultation with her ministers. assadors were often struck at the fire and vigour of her fire and vigour which entered essentially into her chawhich strikingly distinguished her administration. "I ace of the lions," said she to Bertrand de Salignac de la flon, in his first interview with her, in 1568, "soon tamed sed, and as easily roused if provoked." When informed f her subjects, who had been taken fighting in the ranks ich Huguenots, had been instantly sent to the gallows, red, in a tone of scorn and defiance, "That is the act not but of butchers, and I shall be revenged."1 This internducted in French.

e middle of November, 1602, Elizabeth began to feel her cay, though she endeavoured to conceal it. In the two onths she was confined a few days from cold, but otheralth seemed to be good. On the 31st² of January, 1603, a stormy day, she removed from Westminster to Richre she ended her days. Her last illness came on in the

Dépêches, in Cooper's Recueil des Dépêches, tom. ii., p. 169.

story of England, vol. iii., p. 696. Other accounts give 14th January.—

ts, vol. i., p. 246. Carte may have employed the new style, but still

's difference.

of this royal residence was originally Shene Palace. It was inhabited is L, IL, and III. The latter died in it, and likewise Anne, queen of fter her death, Richard, having demolished the apartments in which his died, deserted the place. It was afterwards repaired by Henry V. In troyed by fire, and rebuilt by Henry VII., who named it Richmond, an of Richmond, and died in it. Queen Elizabeth, as before observed,

beginning of March following. Rheumatic gout in her arms and fingers, great heat in her stomach, and a constant thirst and clamminess in her mouth, which made it necessary for her to be always drinking something, a settled nervous melancholy, want of appetite



Shene Palace, as now existing.

and of sleep, were the first symptoms of the approach of the last messenger; but for a fortnight there was no decided fever. The melancholy which accompanied her illness is said to have preceded it, greatly contributing to bring it on; and it is conjectured to have been caused by her having consented to the execution of her favourite, the Earl of Essex. Other causes may have combined to produce it, as the operation of disease, and concealed sorrow and resentment preying upon her mind at the conduct of her courtiers and ministers, who, she knew, were impatient for a new reign, and whose intrigues with the court of Scotland she shrewdly suspected. She sat upon

was for some time a prisoner here; and it was her favourite residence after her accession to the throne. The chamber in which she died was over the gate of the palace

s at least four days and nights together, and could not be d upon to go to bed, though, during more than the last forther life, she kept her bed. She wished to be alone, and sat s if brooding on the thoughts which troubled her. She refused the remedies prescribed to her by her physicians, and when raicians and councillors importuned her to take them, she bengry, and said that she knew her own strength and constituter than they, and that she was not in so much danger as nagined. She would sometimes say, "I am not sick; I feel i; and yet I pine away."

days before her death Elizabeth was somewhat better, took refreshment, and ordered some religious books to be read to e of which was Philip Mornay du Plessis's Meditations.\(^1\) On y, 22d March, she was questioned by three of her most confiministers as to her successor, when, being feeble and ext, she briefly replied, "No base person, but a king;" evidently g James VI. of Scotland, the only king who had any pretented the English throne.\(^2\) On the following day, Wednesday, 23d, the change for the worse took place. She grew speechless, and afternoon of that day she made signs for her council to be

They were immediately in attendance, and speaking to her her successor, they desired her, if it was her will that the King land should succeed her, to hold up her hand in token of her if she could not speak. She put her hand to her head, and it round in the form of a circle, plainly intimating her wish a should succeed her in wearing the regal crown.³

scene in her death-bed chamber on this the last evening of , is thus graphically described by an eye-witness, her relative, bert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, who had fought , against the Spanish Armada:—"About six at night she made

h's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 507.

h's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 508.—D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature, second series, p. 107. Hitherto, even when old, she would not appoint her successor, but when she was advised to do so, saying that this was "to pin up her windingfore her face."

2 Ellis's MS., p. 195.

signs for the Archbishop of Canterbury [Whitgift] and her ch to come to her. At which time I went in with them, and s my knees, full of tears, to see that heavy sight. Her maje upon her back, with one hand in the bed and the other v The bishop kneeled down by her, and examined her first of he and she so punctually answered all his several questions, by up her eyes and holding up her hand, that it was a comfort to holders. Then the good man told her plainly what she w what she was come to, and though she had been long a grea here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account stewardship to the King of kings. After this he began to pr all that were by did answer him. After he had continue in prayer, till the old man's knees were weary, he blessed h meant to rise and leave her. The queen made a sign with he My sister, Scroop, knowing her meaning, told the bishop t queen desired he would pray still. He did so for a long ha and then sought to leave her. The second time she made have him continue in prayer. He did so for half-an-hour mor earnest cries to God for her soul's health; which he uttere that fervency of spirit, that the queen, to all our sight, much 1 thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comt end. By this time it grew late, and every one departed, all women that attended her. This, that I heard with my ears : see with my eyes, I thought it my duty to set down, and to a for a truth, upon the faith of a Christian, because I know the been many false lies reported of the end and death of that good Elizabeth expired about three o'clock on the morning of Th the 24th of March, 1603, so gently that her attendants knew exact moment when she ceased to breathe. She died in th year of her age, and in the 45th of her reign.

On the 28th of March her corpse was removed from Richn Whitehall, a royal seat of no common splendour at that |

¹ Whitehall Palace was bounded on one side by the park which reache James's Palace, and on the other side by the Thames. It was originally call

it was conveyed, with great magnificence, for interment to bel of Henry VII., Westminster Abbey, on Thursday, April was interred in the same grave with her sister and predeces-



The Holbein Gate, Old Whitehall.

y; and a munificent monument was erected to her memory, uccessor, James VI. of Scotland and I. of England.

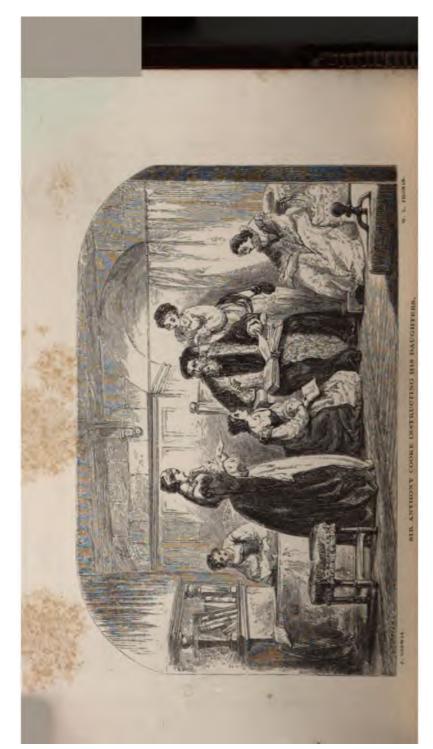
m its being the palace of the Archbishop of York. Cardinal Wolsey was the shop who resided in it, and when he lost the royal favour it was taken posby Henry VIII. After Henry had appropriated to himself this Episcopal he built in front of it, opposite the entrance into the Tilt-yard, a magnificent e, of which an engraving is given in the text. He received the design of house from Holbein, the celebrated painter, and a universal genius, who had diaced to him by Sir Thomas More, and whom he immediately took into his t was "constructed of small square stones and flint boulders, presenting two olours, glazed and disposed in a tesselated manuer." Having been almost ruins by fire during the reign of James VI., the palace was rebuilt by that and was the residence of Charles I., Cromwell, Charles II., and James VII. carelessness of some of William the Third's Dutch soldiers, it was again in 1597, with the exception of the banqueting-house, which had been built VI. This room, through one of the windows of which Charles I. walked

Elizabeth was the last of the Tudor dynasty who English throne, a dynasty which, commencing with her grandfather, and extending through five reigns, h years; and during her reign England made immense gress in civilization, wealth, literature, and in all that c greatness of a nation, than during the reign of any preign. This is doubtless to be attributed, in no small able and wise councillors who formed her ministry; but singular penetration in selecting them, and possessing uncommon degree, the qualities requisite for the governation—qualities which she brought vigorously into op gave her administration the impress of her own min glories of her reign her own, and has transmitted her terity as one of the greatest sovereigns that ever filled throne.

to the scaffold on which he was executed, has been used, under the na Chapel, as a place of public worship since the time of George I. It is of the most striking of the public buildings of the metropolis.—For Whitehall, see Knight's London, vol. i., pp. 333-364.









MILDRED COOKE,

LADY BURGHLEY.

ILDRED COOKE was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, by his wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Fitz-Williams, of Milton, knight. She was born in the year 1526, probably at Giddy Hall, in the county of Essex, her father's seat. Her father, Sir Anthony, is great-grandson of Sir Thomas Cooke, Lord Mayor of Lon-1462, was a man of superior talents, acquirements, and chaa perfect master of the Latin and Greek languages, an excritic and philologist, equally skilled in poetry, history, and natics, and not less distinguished for his piety, prudence, and attachment to Protestant principles. These qualities recomhim to the guardians of Edward VI., by whom he was ted preceptor to that prince, whose manners it was also his s to form; and the royal pupil always regarded him with much n and respect. Besides Mildred he had four other daughters, hem highly accomplished women. Upon their education he stowed great pains, providing them with able masters, and ring much of his own time in their instruction. Possessing a han ordinary natural capacity, and applying themselves with ce to the prosecution of literature and science, they became st learned ladies of their day, particularly in the Latin and languages. "Indeed," says Fuller, in his usual quaint manner,

"they were all most eminent scholars (the honour of their the shame of our sex), both in prose and poetry."1 Nor pious discipline of their minds neglected. To train them up and religious, as well as intelligent and learned, was to bot parents an object of anxious solicitude. "There are three said their father, "before which I am studious not to do wro prince, my conscience, and my children;" and he was wont t his daughters, "My example is your inheritance, and my life portion." As to their excellent mother, she was far more co to see them imbued with the fear of God, and useful in the than that they should attain the highest distinction in mere acquirements. Sir Anthony had no Erasmus to celebrate t and strict discipline under which these ladies were brought t the spectacle of this "man of antique gravity," as Camden de him,3 surrounded by his five daughers, and engaged in in into their minds by night the same lessons he had taught the by day, presented as delightful a family picture as that prese the household of Sir Thomas More, which Erasmus so ple portrays. In the extraordinary care he bestowed upon the ed of his daughters, his object was not to make them mere litera racters, but to cultivate their reason and to form their hear they might rightly perform their duties as wives and mothers sentiments on this subject were similar to those so bear expressed by Sir Thomas More in an elegant Latin poem, in addressing a friend as to the choice of a wife, he recommends he desired a happy life, to overlook wealth and beauty, and t himself with a woman of virtue and knowledge. "May yo with a wife," says he, "who is not always stupidly silent, not prattling nonsense! May she be learned, if possible, or at le

¹ Worthies of England, vol i., p. 347.

² See, in the subsequent Life, the testimony to this effect borne to her by her of Lady Bacon.

Bishop Jewel, who, in his correspondence, usually styles him 'Aqquesques of the cooks), represents him as a man of "melancholy temperament."—Zui ginal Letters, second series, vol. i., p. 53.

of being made so! A woman thus accomplished will be always ng sentences and maxims of virtue out of the best authors of ity. She will be herself, in all changes of fortune, neither up in prosperity nor broken with adversity. You will find in even, cheerful, good-humoured friend, and an agreeable comfor life. She will infuse knowledge into your children with nilk, and from their infancy train them up to wisdom. Whatompany you are engaged in you will long to be at home, and with delight from the society of men into the bosom of one so dear, so knowing, and so amiable. If she touches her lute, s to it any of her own compositions, her voice will soothe you r solitudes, and sound more sweetly in your ear than that of ghtingale. You will spend with pleasure whole days and in her conversation, and be ever finding out new beauties in scourse. She will keep your mind in perpetual serenity, reits mirth from being dissolute, and prevent its melancholy eing painful."1 On Sir Anthony's daughters reaching womansome of the greatest men of that time sighed to wed them, ed more by their mental accomplishments, their virtuous ter, and their personal charms, than by their portions.2

lred, the eldest, the subject of the present sketch, early evinced lection for learning, and her proficiency in the various branches eckoned necessary to the accomplishment of ladies of the first n embroidery, in music, and other liberal arts, in French and , in Latin, and particularly in Greek, fully corresponded with a bestowed upon her education by her father.

ard's Learned Ladies, pp. 38, 39.

fildred's marriage we shall afterwards speak. Anne, the second daughter, ried to Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper to Queen Elizabeth; Elizabeth was first to Sir Thomas Hobby, and secondly to Lord John Russel; Katharine enry Killigrew; and Margaret to Sir Ralph Rowlet.

is inscription on her monument, it is said that her "uncommon acquaintance Latin and Greek languages was acquired solely from the instructions of her A contemporary authority, quoted by Strype, affirms, on the other hand, had Mr. Laurence, "a man in those times of great fame for his knowledge in a language, for her preceptor in that tongue."—Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 223.

During the later period of the reign of Henry VIII., and d the reign of Edward VI., the situation held by her father, as Prince Edward's preceptors, procured Mildred frequent access court. This afforded her an opportunity of meeting with a n of excellent ladies of a kindred spirit, with whom she came to intimate terms. She early contracted a friendship with Katharine Parr, Katharine Duchess of Suffolk, Lady Jane Gr daughters of Protector Somerset,1 and other ladies eminent for ing, intelligence, virtue, and attachment to the Reformation. was also the companion of Princess Elizabeth's youth, as she w companion of her maturer years, when she became the wife of minister of state, on whose judgment Elizabeth continued to through life, more than on the judgment of all her other state All these ladies were enthusiastic cultivators of literature. especially paid uncommon attention to the Greek and Roma guages, and to the study of theology.

Mildred being educated in Protestant principles, made as profession of the Protestant faith, if not during the closing per the reign of Henry VIII., yet during the reign of Edward VI. Popery was abolished and the Protestant religion established.

In 1546, shortly after the accession of Edward VI., being twentieth year of her age, she was married to William Cecil, wards the celebrated Lord Burghley, privy councillor to Elizabeth, and Lord High Treasurer of England.² She was his a wife.³ This matrimonial alliance, like his first, greatly contrito promote Cecil's political advancement, yet it was the resardent attachment, rather than of calculated worldly advantage

¹ See some account of Somerset's daughters in Appendix, No. VI.

² He was created Lord Burghley in 1571, and in the subsequent year was ap lord high treasurer, in which office he continued till his death.

³ Cecil's first wife was Mary Cheke, sister of Sir John Cheke, professor of G the university of Cambridge, and one of the tutors of Edward VI. He was a to this lady on the 8th of August, 1541, in the 21st year of his age. She gave a son on the 5th of May, 1542, and died on the 22d of February, 1543, at Cam Taking her youth into account, she is said to have been a lady of extraordin quirements in literature.—Cintterbuck's History and Antiquities of Hertford, p

The testimony borne, a few years after her marriage, to Lady Ceril's high literary acquirements, as well as to the distinguished talents and upright character of her husband, by Roger Ascham, the most competent of all men then living to judge upon such points, is entitled to special attention. Writing in 1550 to his friend, John Sturmius, the learned rector of the Protestant academy of Strasburg, after speaking of the proficiency of the Princess Elizabeth in learning, he says, "There are two English ladies whom I cannot omit to mention, nor would I have you, my Sturmius, omit them, if you meditate any celebration of your English friends, than which nothing could be more agreeable to me. One is Jane Grey, the other is Mildred Cecil, who understands and speaks Greek like English,1 so that it may be doubted whether she is most happy in the possession of this surpassing degree of knowledge, or in having had for her preceptor and father Sir Anthony Cooke, whose singular erudition caused him to be joined with John Cheke in the office of tutor to the king, or finally, in having become the wife of William Cecil, lately appointed secretary of state; a young man, indeed, but mature in wisdom, and so deeply skilled both in letters and in affairs, and endued with such moderation in the exercise of public offices, that to him would be awarded, by the consenting voice of Englishmen, the fourfold praise attributed to Pericles by his rival Thucydides, 'To know all that is fitting, to be able to apply what he knows, to be a lover of his country, and superior to money.""2

Lady Cecil early occupied a situation in the court of Queen Mary. On occasion of that queen's passing in splendid procession through the city of London, on the 30th of September, 1553, the day before her coronation, Lady Cecil and her sisters, dressed in crimson satin, and mounted on horses similarly attired, formed part of the brilliant

¹ This testimony of Ascham is corroborated by that of Mr. Laurence, her Greek tatar, who declared that she equalled, if not overmatched, any Greek professor in the amoranties in the knowledge of that language.—Preface to Hist. of France, translated into English, and printed in 1595, quoted by Strype in Life of Archbishop Parker, vol. ii., p. 222.

Quoted in Miss Aiken's Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i., p. 96.

train of ladies who followed the royal carriage. She was protected to hold office palace.1

In attending upon the person of Queen Mary, Lady Cecil posed to great temptations to conform to the Popish reliping please the queen, or to escape the dangers to which non-commight expose her from the queen's remorseless bigotry. In situations, some, resisting all the temptations which surrounde have persevered in maintaining their integrity, like Milton's

----- "faithful found Among the faithless, faithful only he."

Daniel, while holding office in the court of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, a persecutor of the church, continued steadfast Jewish faith, and in the worship of the true God. Some early Christian converts, while occupying places in the house the bloody and persecuting Nero, held fast the Christian faith Lady Cecil did not possess the decision of character, the mor rage of these early confessors, and of many, both male and in the reign of Queen Mary. Under that reign there were the reformed in England three classes, each of which followed ferent course. One class, soon after Mary's accession, fled continent to escape the storm, preferring exile to the renun of their faith. Another class, who could not, from various c stances, make good their flight, or whose consciences, as in the of Archbishop Cranmer, would not permit them to fly from the of danger, remained at home, openly professing the reformed and rather than abjure it, courageously submitting to the v of persecution. The third class likewise remained at home. the time conformed to Romanism. To this last class Lady Ce her husband unhappily belonged; they swerved, at least towar close of Queen Mary's reign, after the persecution began, fro Protestant faith, and attended both the confessional and mas

¹ Miss Strickland's Life of Queen Mary, in Queens of England.

ey had renounced in their hearts the Protestant doctrines, y wanted sufficient fortitude to act upon their principles in rying times.¹

was no doubt a great defection in two persons of such emiwho had been noted in the reign of Edward VI. for their zeal cause of the Reformation; and to Romanists, who regarded ervance of the mass in particular as a symbol of the abjurathe reformed religion, it gave much occasion for triumph, as grieved the hearts of many of their friends both at home and Sir John Cheke, who had fled to Strasburg, in writing to rom that place, on the 18th of February, 1556, expresses the which reports of this nature had caused him, and exhorts nd his wife, in a strain of the most affectionate earnestness, d fast their faith, "to take heed how they did in the least or strain their consciences by any compliance for their worldly w." He concludes thus: "I commend [myself] to you and lady, and you both to God; wishing you that steadfastness truth, and that choice of doing well that I do desire of God rself. Fare-ye-well, and bring up your son in the true fear Neither Lady Cecil nor her husband were ignorant of rors, idolatry, and superstition of Popery. They were, indeed, instructed on these points than many who, in the reign of

s, which was before involved in doubt, has been placed beyond all dispute by atrious historian, Tytler, from a paper which, after a careful search, he found in the Paper Office, among a loose collection of notes and memoranda, which had top by themselves, as illustrating the private life of Lord Burghley. This paper, notating a list of persons in the parish of Wymbleton who confessed and atmass, amounting to 226, together with the amount of the offerings of each, bably written by the priest of the parish, but it is endorsed in Sir William and, and the sum total of the offerings is calculated in his hand. It is, therequestionably authentic. It begins thus:—

"Easter Book, 1556.

names of them that dwelleth in the parish of Vembletoun that was confessed, sived the sacrament of the altar.

master, Sir William Cecil, and my Lady Mildred, his wife."—Tytler's Reigns and VI. and Mary, vol. ii., pp. 435-443, 445.

pe's Life of Sir John Cheke,

Mary, went boldly to the flames. But they were inferior to confessors in faith, in self-denial, in submission to the auth Him who has interdicted, in His Word, all fellowship with christ, and required his disciples to be faithful in confession though at the peril of death. It would be unbecoming in sit in the lap of ease, severely to censure those whose courfailed them at the sight of prisons, of racks, of flames; but must condemn them, though, were we placed in similar stances, we might incur the same condemnation; and from a stances of fainting in the day of trial, exhibited in the his persecuting times, in striking contrast with examples of unw resolution in the face of torture and death, we should les weakness of human nature, when left to itself, even in those other respects, from the virtues with which they may be a are worthy of our esteem and imitation.

"My thoughts are with the dead; with them I live in long pass'd years; Their virtues love, their faults condema, Partake their hopes and fears; And from their lessons seek and find Instruction with an humble mind." 2

On the death of Queen Mary, who, happily for the count not reign long, and the accession of Elizabeth, Popery being abolished and the Protestant religion restored, Lady Cecil valeased from the temptation to continue to conform to a system in heart she abhorred. Her father, who had been an exile it Protestant religion, also now returned to England, and fixi

¹ Even Sir John Cheke, notwithstanding his carnest admonitions to Sir Cecil and Lady Cecil to remain steadast to the Protestant cause, shrunk hims the fiery trial of persecution. Soon after the date of the above letter, having repaired to Brussels, he was, by the orders of King Philip, arrested, bound h foot, thrown into a cart, and so conveyed on board a vessel sailing for Englan humiliating recantation exacted from him, to which he submitted, but which a upon his mind that he died within a few months after, is affectingly told Aiken, in her Court of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i., pp. 222-224.
² Southey.

e at Giddy Hall, where he was born, he there spent the reof his days in peace and honour.

Cecil is even believed to have had a leaning towards the during the reign of Elizabeth, though she did not connect with that party. Her education had favoured this Puritadency. Her father belonged to the strictest class of the Engformers, who, in the reign of Edward VI., had done much ving the grosser absurdities of the Romish Church, which VIII. had tenaciously retained, and who, in a preface to one ervice books published by royal authority, observed, "that d gone as far as they could in reforming the church, conthe times they lived in, and hoped that they who came after ould, as they might, do more."2 After his return from exile, lose of the Marian persecution, he became still more tincith Puritanism. Lady Cecil's early training and respect for erated father's sentiments, thus led her to look with a friendly he Puritans. Her views as to the impolicy of persecuting ere the same as those of her husband; and applications were ly made to her, as well as to her other sisters, Lady Bacon, ly Russel, by the persecuted Puritans, to exert her influence behalf, though both she and Lord Burghley, had but impercess in their endeavours to restrain Queen Elizabeth from ing to extremes against such as refused to conform to the us prescribed forms.

om her admirable understanding, exemplary virtue, engaging s, and refined taste, Lady Burghley was much respected by th, and gained no inconsiderable influence over the mind of creign. It is, indeed, believed that she greatly contributed the attempts and intrigues of her husband's enemies, and arly of his rival, Leicester, so that all the arts of that noble-

parted this life 11th June, 1576, at the age of seventy, and, according to his ad testament, was interred in the chapel of Rumford, in Essex, where a monuerected to his memory.—Strype's Annals, vol. ii., part ii., p. 86.

History of the Puritans, edit. 1793, vol. i., p. 73. man, though the queen's favourite, could never lessen the confidence which her majesty reposed in Burghley, or prevail upon her to adopt any measures in the affairs of the state in his absence, or during his illness, without first receiving his advice. This, no doubt, was also greatly owing to the high opinion she had formed of his great abilities and fidelity. But she seems to have formed a no less favourable opinion of the mental endowments and good qualities of Lady Burghley, whose masculine vigour of mind was indeed such, that it has been said, "if a judgment may be formed from her letters, she was as good a politician as Burghley himself."

Lord and Lady Burghley, during Elizabeth's reign, had four places



Burghley House, Northamptonshire

of residence; their lodgings at court, their house in the Strand, their favourite seat at Theobalds, and their family residence, called Burgh-

¹ Carte's History of England, vol. iii., p. 670. Ballard, in his Memoirs of Leurest Ladies, in giving her the credit of being a good politician, refers to a letter from her to Sir William Fitz-Williams, Deputy of Ireland, containing excellent advice. It is certain that Maitland of Lethington corresponded with her in the early part of Elizabeth's reign.—Nare's Memoirs of Lord Burghley, vol. iii., p. 366.

ley House, in Northamptonshire. This last was one of the most magnificent mansions of that period; and here they were often visited by Queen Elizabeth and her court.

Few ladies in the court possessed a deeper sense of piety than Lady Burghley, and as she advanced in years, the more deeply was the importance of divine and eternal things impressed upon her mind. Not only was she regular in her attendance upon the public ordinances of religion, but, what afforded a still more unequivocal testimony to the sincerity of her piety, she was much employed in private in reading the Scriptures, and in prayer.2 She used, for her assistance in her prayers and meditations, a small pocket volume in Latin, entitled, Psalmi seu Precationes Johannis Episcopi Roffensis. On this book of devotions she wrote her name thus : "Mildreda Cicillia, 1565."2 In watching over the education of her children, it was her anxious care to imbue their young minds with the principles of true religion. Lord Burghley, in his Advices to his Son, Robert, commends her exemplary pains in this respect. "The virtuous inclinations of thy matchless mother," says he, "by whose tender and godly care thy infancy was governed, together with thy eduration under so zealous and excellent a tutor, puts me in rather saurance than hope that thou art not ignorant of that summum bowers which is only able to make thee happy, as well in thy death as in thy life; I mean the true knowledge and worship of thy

This mansion, the princely seat of the Marquis of Exeter, a lineal descendant of Bughley's eldest son, Thomas, who was created Earl of Exeter in 1605, "has come down to us intact, and is perhaps more interesting from its associations with 'the gorious days' than any other edifice now remaining in the kingdom. The halls are still standing where the famous lord treasurer entertained his sovereign and her dauling court. . . It is one of the noblest monuments of British architecture in the time of Queen Elizabeth; . . . and at the present time few seats, either in England or on the continent, can vie with Burghley House."—Baronial Halls of England, London, Chapman, 1848, vol. ii.

^{*} This is stated in the inscription on her monument.

² Strype's Annals, vol. iii., part ii., p. 129. "A beautiful copy of the O Mirificam Grank Testament of R. Stephens is said also to be still extant, with the name 'Mil-teda Cecilia,' in her own handwriting, in Greek characters."—Nare's Memoirs of Lord Barykley.

Creator and Redeemer, without which all other things are miserable." 1

During the whole of her life, Lady Burghley retained her to elegant and useful studies; she continued to cultivate th languages, to read the most celebrated Greek and Roman historians, and poets, in the original. But she did not cor self to the ancient classic models, as in early life, when h thirst for learning may have been more prominent than th of her piety. In the latter period of her life, her piety pre ing over her taste for intellectual and learned pursuits, she making her skill in the Greek language subservient to her ment in religious knowledge. With this view she read mo Greek fathers, as Basil the Great, Cyril, Chrysostome, Grego anzen, and others.2 In perusing these works, which we admired then than they are now, and from which Luther and other learned Reformers derived lessons of wisdom, great delight, and doubtless derived from them no small ins though it must be owned that much dross is mingled with that in respect of solidity of judgment, apostolic soundnes trine, and even of learning, they are greatly inferior to the of the master-spirits of the Reformation. She is said to ha lated a piece of St. Chrysostome from Greek into English, a she presented the University Library of Cambridge with t Bible in Hebrew and four other tongues, she accompanied Greek epistle of her own composition, and in her own hand

2 These facts are stated in the inscription on her monument.

¹ Strype's Annals, vol. iv., p. 475.

³ Strype's Annals, vol. iii., part ii., p. 129. Such was her reputation at that Christopher Ockland, a learned schoolmaster, sometime of the free Southwark, afterwards of Cheltenham school, dedicated to her a work he in 1582, in elegant Latin heroic verse, consisting of two parts, the fix Anglorum Prælia, beginning at the year 1327, and ending at the year 155 of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, where begins the second pa Elizabetha, describing her life and happy reign unto the year 1582. This b highly approved, that it was by the queen's privy council ordered to be ta grammar and free schools within the realm.—Ibid., vol. iii., part i., pp. 223

experience having taught her the advantages of mental cultiva-, she was one of the greatest patronesses of learning in her day. mising youths in poor circumstances were the objects of her spesympathy, and by her interest or generous contributions, many h were furnished with the means of obtaining a liberal education. ring her lifetime she regularly maintained, for several years, two olars at St. John's College, Cambridge, 1 and that this blessing th be extended to future generations, she afterwards purchased ds in name of the dean of Westminster, and conveyed them in petuity for the support of two students at that college. "All ich was done without any signification of her act or charge to any nner of person, but only of the dean, and of William Walter of mbleton, whose advice was used for the writing of the purchase insurance." Her husband, Lord Burghley, in a tribute to her mory, written after her death, which beautifully illustrates her ristian excellence of character, has recorded these acts of benence,2 to which he has added other proofs of her zeal in behalf of interests of education. She "likewise provided four merks yearly four sermons, to be preached quarterly, by one of the preachers John's College." "She also gave a sum of money to the mas-St John's College, to provide fires in the hall of that college, all Sundays and holy-days, betwixt the feasts of All-Saints and emas, when there were no ordinary fires of the charge of the She gave also a sum of money secretly towards a building, ew way at Cambridge to the common schools. She also progreat number of books, whereof she gave some to the uniof Cambridge, namely, the Great Bible in Hebrew and four agues. And to the college of St. John very many books in divinity and physic, and of other sciences. The like she rist's Church, and St. John's College in Oxford. The like the college of Westminster."

ege of St. John, in the university of Cambridge, was founded by Marus of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. It was at this college that Lord neen educated.

unals, vol. iil., part ii , pp. 125-128.

To the last at the want of the post-tion for her later and natronar in the common built opportunities of doing good, for in level case of distress, not waiting till they w tion her attention by others. In the tribute to her more The Borning has received some of the no some is which six enformered to alleviate the suffer to giving lease of meany to industrious mechanics. ing analysis for the year or by a gestaltons distribut hing find med fire sometime below with we and orphe a recivil the failure of the erro was of frequent occurren send cases, the prime of comp becoming so emerbitant as a beautiful the recurring means of the poor, all the calcult ine were windy falt. In such times of searcity Lady Berghley its was especially exercised. "Not long before her death s secrety to be bought a large quantity of wheat and rys, posed amongst the poor in time of dearth; which remains in at her death; but the same emplessed by such as provided

hley himself, who did not know its extent till after ne did of late years," says he, "sundry charitable she determined to have no outward knowledge ; insomuch as, when I had some little understanding ed her wherein she had disposed any charitable gifts r often wishing that she were able to do some speintenance of learning, and relief of the poor), she aly show herself rather desirous so to do, than ever act; as since her death is manifestly known now ssed by sundry good men (whose names and minisv used), that she did charge them most strictly, that they should never declare the same to me nor to any now have I seen her earnest writings to that purpose ." Her concealing so many of her benefactions from could hardly arise from an apprehension that, had n to him, he would have been dissatisfied; for he narkably charitable, appropriating £500 annually to ses, besides other large sums which he distributed y occasions.

er given of her not long after her death, she is deother Dorcas, full of piety and good works," among hose already specified, is mentioned "her readiness poor and distressed suitors unto her dear lord," and ess to exiled strangers."

ey met with many trials in the deaths of her offd been blessed with numerous children, but all of ig, with the exception of three, Anne, born 5th Dewho was married, in the 15th year of her age, to 7th Earl of Oxford of that name, and Lord High England, a nobleman of bad character, who treated izabeth, who was married to William, eldest son of

ry, by the translator of the *History of France* into English, pubady Anne, Countess of Warwick, and Lady Katharine, Baroness n; quoted in Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 130. vol. ii., part ii., p. 70; and vol. iii. part i., pp. 81, 82.

Thomas Lord Wentworth; and Robert, born 1st June, 1563, who did not marry till after his mother's death. In the year 1588 she lost her daughter Anne, who died on the 5th of June that year, in the palace of Queen Elizabeth, at Greenwich, in the thirty-second year of her age, leaving, of the numerous children she had to the Earl of Oxford, only three daughters, Elizabeth, Briget, and Susanna, all young. With bitterness of spirit, and with many tears, Lady Burghley resigned to death this beloved daughter, whose accomplishments and Christian worth much endeared her to both her parents, as we learn from the testimony of her father, who, in the inscription, of his own composition, which he caused to be engraven on her tombstone, thus records her worth:- "This, my daughter Anne, lived from her tenderest years, highly spoken of by all, both in the court and at home. As a virgin, she was uniformly modest and chaste; as a wife, steadfast in her affections, and entirely faithful to her husband; as a daughter, obedient in all things to her parents, and eminently diligent and devout in worshipping God. Seized with a burning fever, she yielded up her last breath and her spirit with most fervent prayers to God, her Creator and Redeemer, in the assured hope of the heavenly kingdom."

Lady Burghley did not long survive her daughter. The tragic scene of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, to which Lord Burghley had, from political considerations, urged Queen Elizabeth'—the defeat of the threatened invasion of England by the Spanish Armada, more by the wonderful hand of Providence than by the means of defence, devised and carried into execution by Lord Burghley—these were the last great public events in the nation which she lived to witness. She died in her own house at Westminster, on the 4th of April, 1589, at the age of sixty-three, after living with her husband forty-three years, during which she enjoyed a more than common degree of domestic happiness. The death of this amiable and ex-

¹ His earnestness in urging the trial and condemnation of Mary Queen of Scots, as necessary to the safety of Elizabeth's person and government, has never been for given by the chivalrous partizans of that unfortunate queen.

lady, whose Christian virtues were as solid as her talents ining, was deeply regretted by all who knew her. Many of r thereby lost a benefactor. To Lord Burghley, in particuwas a severe affliction. As a means of inspiring resignad soothing his sorrow under the desolating stroke, he wrote consisting of meditations on her death and of a delineation haracter. This paper is the more to be depended on, as it is , not in a style of exaggerated panegyric, but in the form of a nadorned statement of her beneficent actions.1 He gives no ar account of the circumstances of her last illness and closing at we learn from his narrative that she looked to the atoning f Jesus, and to his everlasting love, as what alone could give hope, could make her tranquil in her departing moments, ure for her a sure entrance into heavenly glory. He comforted by such a train of thought as the following: "There is no on to be used with an intent to recover that which never can again, that is, to have my dear wife to live again in her morwhich is separated from the soul, and resteth in the earth, nd the soul taken up to heaven, and there to remain in the of blessedness unspeakable, until the general resurrection of , when, by the almighty power of God (who made all things ing), her body shall be raised up and joined with her soul in lasting, unspeakable joy, such as no tongue can express nor onceive.

refore my cogitations ought to be occupied in these things

aght to thank Almighty God for his favour in permitting her lived so many years together with me, and to have given her have had the true knowledge of her salvation, by the death Son Jesus, opened to her by the knowledge of the gospel, she was a professor from her youth.

ight to comfort myself with the remembrance of her many

written only five days after her death, being dated and concluding thus:

h, 1589. Written at Colling's Lodge, by me in sorrow, W. B."

virtuous and godly actions, wherein she continued all her life. The particulars of many of these hereafter do follow, which I do with mine own handwriting recite for my comfort in the memory thereof, with assurance that God hath accepted the same in such favourable sort as she findeth now the fruits thereof in heaven." He then proceeds to enumerate some of her various benefactions, already noticed, for the maintenance of scholars at the university, and for the relief of the poor, as proofs of the patronage she extended to learning, and of her remarkable charitable disposition.

On the 25th of April she was interred in the abbey church of Westminster, towards the south-east angle of St. Nicholas Chapel. The pomp of her funeral was suitable to her high station, as the wife of the first statesman of England, and a sermon was preached on the occasion by the dean of St. Paul's. In a letter to the dean, Lord Burghley, while explaining that he did not desire the performance of that religious service from motives of superstition, nor was governed by vanity, but by respect, in the splendour of her obsequies, dwells with the tenderest affection upon the sanctity of her life and the piety of her death. "April 21, 1589. I am desirous to have it declared, for the satisfaction of the godly, that I do not celebrate this funeral in this sort with any intention thereby, as the corrupt abuse hath been in the church, to procure of God the relief or the amendment of the state of her soul, who is dead in body only. For I am fully persuaded, by many certain arguments of God's grace bestowed upon her in this life, and of her continual virtuous life and godly death, that God, of his infinite goodness, hath received her soul into a place of blessedness, where it shall remain with the souls of the faithful until the general day of judgment, when it shall be joined with her body. And with that persuasion I do humbly thank Almighty God, by his Son Christ, for his unspeakable goodness towards the salvation of her soul, so as I know no action on earth can amend the same. But yet I do otherwise most willingly celebrate this funeral, as a testimony of my hearty love which I did bear her. Further, this that is here done for of our friends, is to testify to the world what estimation, erence, God bears to the stock whereof she did come, father and mother, as manifestly may be seen about by the sundry coats of noble houses joined by blood. Which is not done for any vain pomp of the world, duty towards her body, that is to be with honour the assured hope of the resurrection thereof at the last

v Lord Burghley was affected with this bereavement may his letters to his friends, as well as from the documents In a letter to Lord Shrewsbury, written about a month aurghley's funeral, he intimates that it was impossible ake off the remembrance of his great loss, which still n night and day. He had then, it would appear, left for a time, as this letter is dated "From a poore lodge was at Theobald's, 27 Maij, 1589;" and in the P.S. he seen is at Barn Elms (the seat of Sir Francis Walsing-is night I will attend on hir at Westminster, for I am for feastings."²

ous monument was erected to Lady Burghley's memory, emory of their daughter, Lady Anne, Countess of Ox-Burghley. The monument is twenty-four feet high, arches and canopies, supported by pillars of the Corinand adorned with pyramids of porphyry, Touch, Lydian, coloured marble, most curiously carved, and gilt with e upper part of this monument, under a neat arch, is a of an old man kneeling, in his robes of state, with a wel of the order of St. George about his neck, being the rd Burghley. The statues of Lady Burghley and the the finest alabaster, are of full length, in a cumbent heir robes, the furthermost representing Lady Burghley, on this side the daughter. At the head of the pedestal supported by small columns of the Corinthian order, nals, vol. iii., part ii., pp. 128, 129. 2 Lodge's Portraits.

and painted with azure, and another of the same construction materials at the feet, underneath each of which is a death's lenclosed in crystal, with these words, Mors Janua Vita, and M



Lady Burghley's Monument.

MIHI LUCRUM.² At the head of Lady Burghley, and her daughthe Countess of Oxford, are three small female figures kneer epresenting Ladies Elizabeth, Briget, and Susanna, daughters of countess, who, however, were alive when the monument was erect and at the feet of Lady Burghley and her daughter is a statute a youth kneeling, representing Robert Cecil, her only son, was also then alive. The lengthened inscription, which is in L

¹ i. e., death, the gate of life.

I i.e., death to me is gain.

doubt composed by Lord Burghley himself. It commences

t is asked who is this old man in a kneeling posture, veneram his gray hairs, arrayed in robes of state, knight of the order parter; who also are these two noble ladies, splendidly attired robes, and who are those at the heads and feet of these ladies of you will learn all these particulars from the following disof the old man:—

whose image is farthest off was—alas! was—my Mildred, a recedingly endeared to me, the other was my most beloved er, Anne. Mildred, my wife, lived with me most affection-or a period of forty-three years, and was a sharer of all my s, both in prosperity and in adversity, during the reigns of VIIL, Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, who ost happily sways the sceptre."

similar strain, which partakes somewhat of the garrulity of e, he goes on, at great length for a monumental inscription, sing his wife; his daughter Anne, with her children; his son s, afterwards Earl of Exeter, with his children; his son Rofterwards the celebrated Earl of Salisbury, who had been y married, and his daughter Elizabeth, who, as stated in the tion, died immediately on the death of her husband, William worth; the whole pervaded by a tone of deep, solemn feeling, ardent, conjugal and paternal affection—of affection particularly and the virtues of Anne, he adds, "At length, to the great grief self and of her mother, being snatched away from us, she lup the spirit to God who gave it, upon which I and my wife,

mas was Burghley's son by his first wife, Mary Cheke. He was born 5th May,

entire inscription is printed in Crull's Antiquities of Abbey Church of West-vol. i., pp. 71-78,

ert was married in August, 1589, about four months after his mother's death, father's consent, to Lady Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Lord Cobham, and he ladies of the queen's privy chamber.

with many tears, caused her body to be placed under this mor tal stone. Not long after, the mother followed the daught although I never seriously think of her without tears, vel things present themselves which seem somewhat to mitigs grief." He then proceeds to specify her devotion to the study Scriptures and of the Greek fathers, her liberality in encou learning, her charity to the poor, and her worth as a wife and n Having next described the three small female figures at the of Lady Burghley and her daughter, and the statue of the yo their feet in the attitude of kneeling, he says, "But to what p is it for me to go on? I will make an end of speaking and h ing, and will affirm this only, that this spectacle is to me so grief, that although the sweet children of fairest promise th left me, offer some mixed consolation, yet neither these four, e ingly dear as they are to me, nor my beloved eldest son Thom all who have sprung from him, and who are now alive, gran and grand-daughters to the number of eleven, to whom also I a sweet little boy, William Paulet, son of my grand-daughter, Cecil, by William Paulet, son and heir of the Marquis of W will ever efface the sadness which cleaves to me from these di ing events." As a striking proof of the intensity of his affecti his deceased wife, and daughter Anne, he again and again, remaining part of the inscription, returns to speak of their v. as if, in his sorrow, he could find no greater luxury than in l ing, in melancholy thought, upon these objects of his attachmen in constantly speaking about them.

The virtues and talents of his wife in particular were never from his memory. About two years after her death, still feelin vacancy she had left in his heart and house, and that, fro advanced age, he must soon be called to follow her, he expressions—as, after such a lengthened period of laborious and ar service he was well entitled to do—to resign his office, and to the remainder of his days in retirement. The queen, what afforded him such decisive and long-continued proofs of confi

and attachment, could not think, without the deepest regret, of the final loss of his invaluable services, the more especially as she could discern in him no traces of impaired mental vigour, and, at her earnest solicitation, he was diverted from his purpose, and continued to his death to direct, with the same ability and success as ever, the affairs of government, maintaining the authority of the sovereign and the public tranquillity, notwithstanding the opposition of a powerful Roman Catholic faction.





ANNE COOKE,

LADY BACON.

NNE COOKE was the second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, by his wife, Anne Fitz-Williams. She

was born about the year 1528, probably at Giddy Hall, in Essex. Under the eye of her parents she received the same learned and religious education as her sister, Lady Burghley; nor was she inferior to her sister in natural talents, in acquired accomplishments, and in Christian worth. She was, in particular, exquisitely skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Italian tongues. These qualifications procured her, at an early age, the honourable appointment of governess to Edward VI., whose education, in co-operation with her father and Sir John Cheke, she superintended; and to her instructions may not unreasonably be attributed, in part at least, the early piety and uncommon attainments of that young prince. The care taken by his preceptors to imbue his mind with the principles of the Protestant religion, has, indeed, been made a ground of reproach by writers of a certain class, who have congratulated themselves on his early death, from the apprehension that, judging from the papers on religious questions which he left behind him, had his reign been prolonged, England would have been cursed with the calamity of a polemical monarch.

1 D'Israeli, in his Amenities of Literature, vol. ii., p. 145.

the early part of her life amidst the conflict between d Protestantism, which was agitating England, the new king to overthrow the old, and the old seeking to externew, and having been instructed by her parents in the aith, she had her attention early turned to theological and entering, with all the ardour of a strong and active the study of the great points in dispute between Protes-Romanists, she mastered that controversy. In these inhad ample assistance from numerous publications then on, from the sermons preached in defence of the truth, lew Testament in the original Greek, which she was able om the whole Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and ourse with learned men.

er's house being the resort of the most eminent Reformers od, both English and foreign, she had thus an opportunity with many personages celebrated for learning, eloquence, Among the foreign Reformers who frequented her father's Bernardino Ochino, an Italian divine, whom persecution from his native country, and who, after various wandertzerland, Germany, and France, had repaired to England in the year 1547, being then in the sixtieth year of his age, on ion of Archbishop Cranmer, and exercised his talents as a mong the Italian Protestant refugees in London. This possessed highly popular gifts as a preacher, having publume, consisting of twenty-five short sermons, in Italian, half of which relate to the abstruse doctrine of election, wever, in a popular form, and the rest to miscellaneous anne displayed her industry and skill in the Italian y translating the sermons into English. In undertaking he was partly influenced by the reputation which Ochino ed as a pulpit orator in his own country, where persons of nd sexes, monarchs, bishops, and cardinals, some of them rsecutors of the Protestants, had listened with almost un-

¹ His birthplace was Siena, a city of Tuscany.

bounded admiration to his powerful eloquence; partly by her tion for his character, from his sufferings in the Protestar from the sanctity of his life, and from the winning suavit manners; and partly by the desire of promoting her own i ment in the Italian language, and in the knowledge of divis At first she does not appear to have had the least thought of her translation to the public; but after she had finished it, her friends who perused it were so much pleased with its as well as with the excellence of the matter, that they stro commended its publication. She yielded to their entreaties, with a degree of modest diffidence, encouraged by the hope translation might be useful to her countrymen and country by enabling them to read in their own tongue these excel dresses. It was published with a preface "To the Christian I written by G. B.; and with becoming filial piety, though I the circle of the court, overlooking great men and great lac translator sought no other patroness than her beloved mo whom she dedicated her performance.1

In the preface "To the Christian Reader," some of the

1 There were at least two editions; but the volume is now rarely to be The copy which we have consulted, probably the first edition, is, like many the age of Queen Elizabeth, printed in black letter. It is small 12mo, cor 244 pages, though the pages are not numbered; and the title-page is as folk "SERMONS

"Of Barnardine Ochyne (to the number of 25), concerning the predesting election of God; very expedient to the setting forth of his glory among his Translated out of Italian into our native tongue, by A. C.

[Then there is a quotation from Tobit xii. 7, and another from Isaiah xliii "Printed by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneath S. Martins."

The date of publication is not given. Strype conjectures that it was about 1550 .- Mem. Eccl., vol. ii., p. 265. Another edition, also without date of pr was afterwards printed in 12mo, accompanied with twenty-five additional se the same author, translated from Italian into English. The title-page, which ent from that of the former edition, is as follows:-

"Certain Sermons of the right famous and excellent clerk, Master I Ochino, born within the famous university of Sienna, in Italy, now also an a this life for the faithful testimony of Jesus Christ. Twenty-five Sermons, into English from the Italian, by a gentleman, and the last twenty-five tra

a young lady."-Typographical Antiquities, p. 244.

connected with the translation are explained. "When these ed sermons of the famous Bernardine," says the writer, "were mine hand, gentle reader, I thought it meet to publish them, and so godly apostolic doctrine should not be private to those of understand the Italian tongue, since they speak in Engough the honest labour of a well occupied gentlewoman and a maiden, whose shamefastness would rather have suppressed and not I, to whose hands they were committed, half against I, put them forth, bidding them blush that deserve blame; of her part, I dare safely affirm, craveth perpetual praise of ought be erred in the translation, remember it is a woman's, entlewoman's, who are wont to live idly, a maiden's that never farther than her father's house to learn the language. Fared use her labour to the amendment of thy life."

's dedication, from the testimony it bears to the excellent in character of her mother, as well as from its explaining the a motives—the desire of reaping personal advantage and of ing others—which induced her to engage in this undertaking, by of being given entire.

he right worshipful and worthily beloved Mother, the Lady humble Daughter wisheth increase of spiritual knowledge, I fruition of the fruits thereof.

se the original of whatsoever is, or may be converted to any in me, hath freely proceeded (though as the minister of God) ladyship's mere careful and motherly goodness, as well in g all things thereunto belonging, as in your many and most thortations, wherein, among the rest, it hath pleased you reprove my vain study in the Italian tongue, accounting the reof to have been sown in barren, unfruitful ground (since reby is no whit magnified), I have at the last perceived it to prove how much the understanding of your will could me towards the accomplishing of the same. And for that

filliams. Anne, as was not uncommon at that period, gives her mother her

I have well known your chief delight to rest in the destroying of man's glory, and exalting wholly the glory of God; which may not be unless we acknowledge that He doth foresee and determine from without beginning all things, and cannot alter or reward after our deserved works, but remains steadfast, according to his immutable will. I have taken in hand to dedicate unto your ladyship this small number of sermons (for the excellent fruit's sake in them contained, proceeding from the happy spirit of the sanctified Barnardine), which treat of the election and predestination of God, with the rest (although not of the self title) appertaining to the same effect, to the end it might appear, that your so many worthy sentences touching the same have not utterly been without some note in my weak memory; and albeit they be not done in such perfection as the dignity of the matter doth require, yet I trust and know ye will accept the humble will of the presenter, not weighing so much the excellency of the translation, although of right it ought to be such as should not, by the grossness thereof, deprive the author of his worthiness. But not meaning to take upon me the reach to his high style of theology, and fearing also lest, in enterprising to set forth the brightness of his eloquence, I should manifest myself unapt to attain unto the lowest degree thereof, I descend, therefore, to the understanding of mine own debility; only requiring, that it may please your ladyship to vouchsafe that this my small labour may be allowed at your hands, under whose protection only it is committed, with humble reverence, as yielding some part of the fruit of your motherly admonitions, in this my willing service.

"Your Ladyship's Daughter, most boundenly obedient, A. C."

The religious sentiments embodied in these sermons were precisely those taught Anne by her parents in her childhood, and embraced by her, in the full maturity of her understanding, as the truth revealed by God in his Word. One extract may suffice as a specimen of the English style of the translation, which will not suffer by a comparison with English writers of the period of higher pretensions, and of the vein of evangelical doctrine pervading these

It relates to the cardinal article of justification through the blood of Christ, strongly set forth in the monologue put mouth of the Christian, in the prospect of his entering the world :- " Considering that the treasures and merits of Christ nite, and able to enrich a thousand worlds, I intend not to ith me any other merits or spiritual riches, save those that hath provided for me; for they be not only sufficient for me, o over-abundant and unmeasurable. Then should I do no njury to Christ, if I should search to store myself by any nean or shift, although I might do it never so easily. Nay, with Paul will I reckon all other things as mire and dirt, so have Christ, with whom alone I will appear before God, and by him will I glory and make boast; yea, God forbid that I make my avaunt of anything save of the cross of our Lord hrist, on whom only hangeth all our salvation. And albeit saints be rich by means of Christ; nevertheless, if they had of their own most plenteous, and would give them to me, yet I none: my Christ is enough for me: with him had I rather han take pleasure and joy without him. I am well that in purgatory I shall not come; both because there is o other purgatory but Christ, in whom at the full God purged nished all the sins of the elected, and also because in case ere one, yet Christ, not by my merits, but by his mere goodth satisfy for all my sins, trespasses, and pains."1

was subsequently married to Sir Nicholas Bacon, knight, 2 afis lord keeper of the great seal, an office to which he was ed in 1558, the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, said to have relied on him as her oracle of law. He is deby Fuller as having a subtile genius; and such was his corespecially in his old age, that the exertion of going from inster Hall to the Star Chamber, rendered him so breathless,

on axi.

2 The date of the marriage has not been exactly
d. Her eldest son, Anthony, was born in 1558.—Birch's Memoirs of the
Queen Elizabeth, vol. i., p. 11.

that on taking his seat some time elapsed before he could recover from his exhaustion. Having sufficiently recovered, as a signal to the lawyer of the day to begin, he held up his staff, before which the pleadings never commenced. His motto was mediocria firma; and, acting on the former part of it, he neither sought vast wealth nor erected splendid mansions. When Queen Elizabeth, in her progresses, visited him at his house at Gorhambury, in Hertfordshire, she said to him, "My lord, your house is too little for you." "Not so, madam," he replied, "it is your highness that hath made me too great for my house."

After her marriage Lady Bacon did not relinquish the prosecution of her literary pursuits; and, mindful of the lesson her mother had carefully taught her, that learning is only valuable when turned to some useful purpose, she endeavoured to exercise her talents in behalf of the reformed religion, by translating into English a much abler and more useful work than Ochino's Sermons, namely, Bishop John Jewel's celebrated Apologia Ecclesia Anglicana, which he published in 1562. Jewel² wrote this work at the recommendation of Archbishop Parker and his colleagues, to vindicate the Church of England in renouncing the Papal authority and embracing the reformed religion, chiefly from the attacks of English Romish fugitives, who were industriously plying all the arts of learned ingenuity and malignity to defame the English Reformers and the Church of England. The Apologia, which may still be read with advantage, was, from its learning and eloquence, as well as from the spirit and point of its argumentation, so highly estimated at home that it was published under her majesty's sanction, with the approbation of the

¹ i.e., apology for the Church of England.

² This excellent man, who had studied in Christ Church College, Oxford, was a zealous promoter of the Reformation in the reign of Edward VI. In the reign of Mary he escaped to Frankfort. On the happy accession of Elizabeth, returning to England, he was preferred to the bishopric of Salisbury in 1560. He was one of the most learned among the Reformers, and was the author of numerous works, of which his Apologia was the most popular. He died at Monkton Farley, September 23, 1571, in the fiftieth year of his age, and was interred in the choir of his cathedral at Salisbury.

ops and others; and by the reformed abroad it was received the highest encomiums. It was, therefore, speedily translated various languages, and thus made accessible to the most of pe. An English translation was printed the very year in which original work was published. But this translation, though exei with the assistance of Archbishop Parker, being in many ects defective, Lady Bacon, impressed with a conviction of the e of Jewel's work, and of the powerful impression it was calcu-I to make on the public mind in favour of the reformed faith, ged in the task of executing a new version. This she did with h success, her version being more perfect than the other, and for period remarkably elegant, a proof that she had cultivated her smal tongue, and could write it with a vigour and purity scarcely for to any in her day. Having completed the translation, she the copy to Archbishop Parker1 for examination. She sent it to Bishop Jewel, to see whether in any part she had mistaken meaning, accompanied with a letter to him in Greek, which the op, it is said, answered in the same language. The translation examined by the two prelates, who found it so accurate that did not make even a single correction. Parker, without delay, the work to the press, without asking her consent, and returned er in print what he had received from her in manuscript. It was lished in 1564, with a prefatory letter by Parker, addressed to Lady on, and with an appendix, probably written by the archbishop, usting of a brief sketch of the constitution of the Church of Engwith a table of the bishoprics and an account of the universities. is letter to her, in which he addresses her as "the right honour-

fathew Parker, who, though a reformed minister, escaped persecution during the of Queen Mary by living in seclusion, was, upon the accession of Elizabeth, aped, in 1559, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a learned man, and Calvinistic ctrine. The great blot in his life is the severity with which he treated the Purilergy, suspending them from their ministry, and sequestrating their livings. Her ty having determined to enforce the use of clerical vestments, and the observance peculiar forms of religious worship which she chose to prescribe, Parker became ty instrument in carrying her views into effect, though her chief adviser, Lord aley, was decidedly averse to this course.

able, learned, and virtuous lady, Anne Bacon," he says, "W the chief author of the Latin work and I, severally perusing an paring your whole translation, have without alteration allowe I must both desire your ladyship, and advertise the readers, to that we have not therein given anything to any dissembling at towards you, as being contented to wink at faults to please to make you without cause to please yourself; for there be: respects to draw us from so doing, although we were so evil-n as there is no cause why we should be so thought of. judgment in discerning flattery, your modesty in misliking laying open of our opinion to the world, the truth of our frie towards you, the unwillingness of us both (in respect of ou tions) to have this public work not truly and well translat good causes to persuade that our allowance is of sincere tru understanding. By which your travail, madam, you have exan acceptable duty to the glory of God, deserved well of this of Christ, honourably defended the good fame and estimation own native tongue, showing it so able to contend with a work nally written in the most praised speech; and beside the hor have done to your own sex, and to the degree of ladies, ye hav pleasure to the author of the Latin book, in delivering him b clear translation from the perils of ambiguous and doubtf structions, and in making his good work more publicly ben whereby ye have raised up great comfort to your friends, an furnished your own conscience joyfully with the fruit of your in so occupying your time; which must needs redound to couragement of noble youth in their good education, and to their time and knowledge in godly exercise, having delivered by you so singular a precedent. . . . And now to the en to acknowledge my good approbation, and to spread the benefi largely, where your ladyship hath sent me your book written, with most hearty thanks, returned it to you (as you see) p knowing that I have therein done the best, and in this point reasonable policy, that is, to prevent such excuses as your n

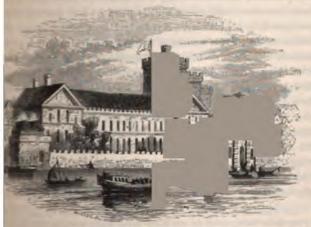
I have made in stay of publishing it. And thus at this time I further to trouble your good ladyship.

"M [ATTHEW] C [ANTUARIENSIS]."1

e pains she had bestowed upon this undertaking was not thrown

The translation met with a highly favourable reception, a doubtless gratified her much; and it was still more pleasing r to reflect on the benefit which the thousands who eagerly read heard it read, would derive from its telling pages. This was inly one of the most effectual means she could have employed adermining in the popular mind a belief in the Popish docs and worship; and it procured her the honour of being abused to vile tongues of malignant Jesuits.²

dy Bacon had issue by Sir Nicholas, two sons, Anthony and cis. Francis, the youngest, afterwards the celebrated Lord Veru-



Yerk House, from the River, time of Charles I.

Viscount of St. Albans, the father of experimental philosophy, born at York House, in the Strand, London, on the 22d of

rul's Works, printed for Parker Society, third portion, p. 51.

"ther Parsons' Relation of a Conference between Henry IV. of France, &c.. p. 197.

January, 1560-61. From her literary acquirements, and frefficiency in presiding over the education of Edward VI., Lady it is evident, was admirably qualified to superintend the ed of her own children; a duty which she assiduously perform with much success, at least in regard to the cultivation cunderstandings, particularly as to Francis; though her ends were not equally successful in forming their minds to the pri of piety and virtue.

"Like several other extraordinary men," says Lord Car "Francis is supposed to have inherited his genius from his n and he certainly was indebted to her for the early culture of hi and the love of books, for which during life he was disting Young Francis was sickly, and unable to join in the rough suited for boys of robust constitution. The lord keeper was to occupied with his official duties to be able to do more than ki hear him occasionally recite a little piece he had learned by and give him his blessing. But Lady Bacon, who was not tender mother, but a woman of a highly cultivated mind, at manner of her age, devoted herself assiduously to her younges who, along with bodily weakness, exhibited from early infa dawnings of extraordinary intellect. . . . Under her care, by a domestic tutor, Francis continued till he reached his thi year. He took most kindly to his book, and made extraording ficiency in the studies prescribed to him."2 She particularly his attention to the languages and philosophy, the pursui congenial to her own taste. Francis studied at Trinity Cambridge. "It has often been said, that while still at co planned that great intellectual revolution with which his i

¹ Lord Campbell here adds, in a foot-note, "Anthony, the elder brother, by any means distinguished, the case of the Bacon family might be cited to the retort upon the late Earl of Buchan, who was eldest brother to Lord En the famous Henry Erskine, dean of faculty, but very unequal to them in abi who observing, boastfully, 'We inherit all our genius from our mother,' was 'Yes (and as the mother's fortune generally is), it seems to have been all sett younger children.'"

² Lives of the Chancellors, vol. ii., pp. 268, 269,

ably connected. The evidence on this subject, however, is sufficient to prove, what is in itself so improbable, as that inite system of that kind should have been so early formed, to powerful and active a mind. But it is certain that, after ence of three years at Cambridge, Bacon departed, carrying im a profound contempt for the course of studies pursued fixed conviction that the system of academic education in d was radically vicious, a just scorn for the trifles on which lowers of Aristotle had wasted their powers, and no great use for Aristotle himself."

e is reason to think that Francis's veneration for Aristotle en weakened by the teaching of his mother, who, from the s of Ochino which she translated, and from private interwith that Reformer and others, had been led to direct her atto the uselessness of the subtle sophistry and miserable ing about trifling and often unintelligible questions, engenby the Aristotelian philosophy. One of Ochino's sermons is ly devoted to combating the opinion of such as asserted the bility of attaining the perfection of theology without having smed dialectics, metaphysics, and all the subtleties, sophisms, bbles of the Stagirite's contentious logic-without having first conversant with Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, and others ame school. In this sermon it is said, "I confess myself to een in that error, and therefore am now moved to compasthose who rest blinded therewith. If it were as they say, we be most bounden unto the inventors of those sciences, since them we may be good divines, and without them not. And pray you, if they happened to perish, or those authors to be ould it not follow that also the world should lack divinity?" at argued that if the learned men in these sciences be only vines, then the Apostles were not so, notwithstanding their he first divinely inspired teachers of Christianity, nor even himself, who never learned these sciences, and yet was the

¹ Macaulay's Essays, vol. ii., p. 297.

most excellent of all divines; that by the reading of the and the teaching of the Spirit, it is possible for a simple to have more of the true theology than the greatest pr these sciences; that those are blind who would build the logy upon philosophy and human sciences, since Christ al true foundation, upon which it behoves us to build, not w or hay, but silver, gold, and precious stones, that is, not tions of men, but the true revelations of God; that John t and not Aristotle, was the forerunner of Christ; and th impossible to augment the light of the sun by the light candle, so Christ, who is the light of the world, has no n light of Aristotle.1 Such were the sentiments as to schol logy, with which the mother of Francis was familiarized which, it can hardly be doubted, from her great care in her son in religion and philosophy, as well as in lang endeavoured to imbue his mind. It is not easy to say t tent his copious erudition, the elegance and spirit of his zealous cultivation of philosophy, and particularly his striking out a new path for the investigation of truth, rendered him the ornament of his age and country, are t buted to the judicious attention bestowed upon his educaerudite and accomplished mother. And if his serious la courtier from the path of integrity, caused by his yieldi up to a selfish ambition and a grovelling avarice, are dar the splendour of his fame as a philosopher, so that he called

"The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind,"

this teaches us the important lesson, that great abilities, t and intellectual faculties of the highest order, will neve sate for the want of strict uncompromising virtue. But I though she had witnessed enough to fill her heart with s spared, by the friendly hand of death, the agony of witn final infamy of her son.

¹ Sermon xx.

three years after Archbishop Parker had addressed Lady reference to her translation of Bishop Jewel's Apologia, im writing to her a long and earnest letter on a less agreeect, namely, concerning some differences which had arisen him and her husband, his old acquaintance and friend. aving learned that many irregularities existed in the dioorwich-disgraceful simony and flagrant misapplication of ical property-had made a visitation of that diocese. With of correcting these irregularities he also wrote to the lord rongly complaining on the subject, counselling him as to r course to be pursued, and, as Strype supposes, "very ing some of the blame upon the lord keeper himself." d passionate, Bacon became deeply irritated at this freedom, answer to the archbishop's letter used violent language, it the same time, an offensive verbal message by the archman-servant. To these unpleasing communications the p made no reply; but, unwilling that any variance should to exist between him and the lord keeper, he endeavoured Lady Bacon to act as umpire between them, though, at the , he did not mean to apologize for the steps he had taken a check on the misapplication of ecclesiastical property. ore soon after expressed to her at length, in writing, his s and feelings in the matter, and solicited her friendly mehich he did the more especially as he knew that she had heart the welfare of the Protestant Church of England. rstand," says he, "that ye use otherwhiles to be a good my lord your husband in the causes of the poor for jusdoubt not ye remember the Christian duty ye bear to ell in respect of conscience to Almighty God, as for his e estimation and fame to the world. Upon which ground fit now, in the end of the term, to write a few words to ly lord I perceive I may not write, except they be placennd therefore I shall stay my hand." After expressing the ould cause him should others, from anything the lord

keeper had done, take encouragement in the spoilation of tical property, which ought to be sacredly devoted to the su "the ministry, that office of men's salvation, that office of crucified mysteries, howsoever the carnal princes of the deride God and all things sacred," he exhorts her, for "God to do what she could to induce her husband to help to remo the church this offence, that he might not bring a stain t glory of his old age. He then proceeds: "What shall be he in friendship, if the advertising of one another in true faithfu ship, and to Godwards, shall stir up enmity and disliking. blind world say, 'Sweeter are the deceitful kisses of an ene the wounds of a friend.' Let the wise man say, on the 'Better are the wounds of a friend than the deceitful kiss enemy.' . . . I would be loth to break friendship v mean body, much less with my lord; and yet either king of contrary to my duty to God, I will not, and intend not [1 God being my good lord. . . . I am now grown into consideration by mine age, than to be afraid or dismayed w vain terrors of the world. I am not now to learn how to far man, 'whose breath is in his nostrils,' nor have I to learn repose myself quietly, under God's protection, against all sure of friends, and against all malignity of the enemy. I said and expounded, 'A thousand shall fall at thy side, thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh the concludes with these words: "And thus reposing myself is and steadfast conscience in this brittle time, I commit your to God, as myself. Because ye be another self to him, one st flesh, I make you judge. And therefore I transmit the very my letter sent to him, to expound the matter of my writing, ye may take occasion to work, as God shall move you. An leave you.—From my house at Lambeth, the 6th of Februa Your friend, unfeigned in Christ, "MATTHEW C.

¹ Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, vol. i., pp. 514-517; and vol. ii 168.

between the archbishop and Sir Nicholas Bacon, the former certainly in the right. There is no reason to deny him what



Archbishop's Palace, Lambeth, time of George IL.

hims, the credit of acting according to his conscience in his option to the spoliation of ecclesiastical property. But while hing this credit to himself, why did he not give the Puritans it for acting according to their consciences in their opposition to imposed clerical habits and ceremonies in divine worship? In the archbishop, like many others, forgot the golden rule of the

ambeth, which is situated on the Thames, was in earlier times a manor, possibly lose. In 1197 it became the property of the see of Canterbury. Its buildings are were neglected, and became ruinous; but Boniface, a wrathful and turburnate, elected in 1244, rebuilt it with great magnificence. In the civil wars bethe houses of York and Lancaster, it suffered greatly. It was restored by about Morton. Its architecture is the work of different periods. Among the algerts of interest connected with this palace, the part of it called "The Lollard's containing the prison in which the followers of Wickliffe were confined during pal ascendency, especially invites the attention of the student of the history of formation. This portion was built by Chicheley, who enjoyed the primacy from 1443.

Saviour, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to y

Twelve years after this Lady Bacon became a widow, her Sir Nicholas, having died on February 20, 1578-9. He w in St. Paul's Church, London, where an elegant monuerected to his memory. During her widowhood Lady Ba in seclusion at Gorhambury, near St. Albans, in Hertfords

In the same year her eldest son, Anthony, who had a s pensity to travel, having taken possession of his paternal in began his travels, being at the age of twenty-one. He r some time at Paris, from whence he went to Bourges, and Geneva, where he lodged in the house of Theodore Beza, p theology in the university of that city, with whom he con intimate friendship, and who, at his persuasion, present library of Cambridge a very ancient copy of the Pentate languages. From Geneva he successively removed to M Marseilles, Bordeaux, Montauban, and again to Bordea he resided the longest.²

Anthony's long continuance on the continent was not a pleasing to his mother; and in her letters to him she often to return home, partly from her anxiety to see him, and p the expense attending his residence abroad. Her anxiety was latterly increased, from some representations, prob gerated, which she had received from English merchants, macy formed at Bordeaux between him and Mr. Anthon a zealous Papist, and a man of no principle, as is eviden readiness to act as a spy to any government which would pay him for doing so.³ From this she began even to su

1 Strype's Annals, vol. ii., part ii., p. 210.

² These facts are gathered from Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Standen's zeal for the Roman Catholic religion led him to leave E the year 1563, and to retire into Scotland, where he entered into the ser Mary. Upon her misfortunes he quitted that country, and became a persary of the King of Spain. He was at last secretly engaged in the ser Elizabeth, by Sir Francis Walsingham, who procured him, from her maje of £100 per annum.—Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, vo

fifth in the Protestant religion had been shaken, and that he some design of attaching himself to the Roman Catholic Church, this increased her dissatisfaction at him for remaining abroad. remove her feelings of distress and displeasure arising from this ree, he sent to her a letter strongly setting forth the groundlesssof such suspicions, and complaining of her for indulging them. bre sending it off he showed it to Standen, who highly approved t, commending him for his being plain, "especially," says he, ith a woman, which is a vessel so frail and variable as every d wavereth, as you know. And although I well know my lady, mother, to be one of the sufficientest without comparison of ser, yet, at the end of the career, il y a tousjours de la femme,1 the perfectest of them all, according to a sentence of the late an of Scotland, once alleged to me, when, in a talking of the en's majesty, our present mistress, and I extolling to the said a our sovereign's rare parts, she said, in these words, 'Sir, when set out in praise of our sex, by praising any of us, never say that is a discreet and wise woman, but say that she is less foolish the rest; for all think us possessed with folly."2

athony having returned to England in the beginning of the year -92, his mother's resentment against him immediately subsided, she wrote a long letter to him on the 3d of February that year, a maternal anxiety, in reference especially to his best interests. Expresses great concern that he had sent before for his servant, Lawson, against whom she had long entertained an insuperprejudice; but she speaks in terms of high approbation of Mr. it is Faunt, the bearer of the letter, whom she had requested to a journey to meet Anthony, and to conduct him to London, his brother Francis was preparing his lodgings at Gray's Innexecution. She describes Faunt as "not only an honest gennin civil behaviour, but one that feareth God, and indeed is eithal, having experience of the state, and is able to advise you

¹ i.e., there is always the woman.

² Birch's Memoirs, &c., vol. i , pp. 55, 56, 67, 68.

both very wisely and friendly; for he loveth yourself, and not yours, as others, who yet despise you." She then pro give him advice with regard to his religious conduct. "T chiefest counsel," says she, "your Christian and natural moth give you even before the Lord, that above all worldly respe carry yourself, even at your first coming, as one that doth t edly profess the true religion of Christ, and hath the love of now by long continuance fast settled in your heart, and th judgment, wisdom, and discretion; and are not afraid or ash testify the same by hearing and delighting in those religiou cises of the sincere sort, be they French or English. In hoc hibere fratrem tuum ad consilium aut exemplum." 1 Lady Ba no bigoted worshipper of the doctrine of apostolical success minister of earnest piety, whether he belonged to the Church land, or to the Puritans, or to a foreign church, was in her est a minister of Christ. Though a member of the Church of E she was inclined to the principles of the Puritans, to which I band, while alive, was also thought to have been not unfavo In a subsequent letter she assures Anthony that it would "best credit to serve the Lord duly and reverently;" and al that his brother Francis "was too negligent therein."2

Reference has previously been made to the friendship for Geneva between her son Anthony and Theodore Beza. In sion of his esteem for Anthony, and of respect for the learni piety of Lady Bacon, whose literary reputation extended bey own country, this eminent divine dedicated to her his Mediof which he transmitted to her a copy. In acknowledgment mark of honour, and "to revive his ancient acquaintance w good old father," as he expresses it, Anthony sent Beza, in I ther's name and in his own, a present to the value of twenty

¹ i.e., "In this I would not refer you to your brother for counsel or exam her letters she frequently introduces Latin and also Greek words and sentent times with a view to secreey, but more commonly after the fashion of the ath therefore less the air of pedantry then than it would have at the present Birch's Memoirs, &c., vol. i., pp. 71, 72.

e received from Beza a letter of thanks, dated Geneva, t, 1593.1

e end of April, or in the beginning of May, 1594, Anved from Redburne, in Hertfordshire, which was too rehe capital for carrying on his numerous correspondences; led in London, in a house in Bishopgate Street. The his new residence his mother highly disliked; in the n account of its neighbourhood to the Bull Inn, where nterludes were continually acted, which she imagined pt his servants; and, in the second place, from zeal for s improvement, as to which he would labour under disa parish, the minister of which was both ignorant and his duty. These circumstances she represented to him y in one of her letters.2

of her letters she expresses her solicitude, and is earnest



leations that both Anthony and Francis should avoid d openness of communication with disreputable characplaces, and especially with Papists, by whom they might morrs, &c., vol. i., pp. 16, 106, 118. 2 Ibid., vol. i., p. 173.

be betrayed, or seduced from the true religion, or corrupted in their moral integrity. In a letter to Anthony, from Gorhambury, of the 26th June, 1593, she gives him some cautions with respect to Standen, who was then in England, not being at all pleased with the intimacy between them, and wishing it to be broken off. "Be not too frank," says she, "with that Papist; such having seducing spirits to snare the godly. Be not too open."1 In another letter to Anthony she expresses in strong terms her dissatisfaction at the familiarity between Francis and Antonio Perez, the ex-secretary of war to Philip II. of Spain, who, having lost the favour of his sovereign, which he had enjoyed in the highest degree for many years, had come to England about the close of the year 1592. "Though I pity your brother," says she, "yet, so long as he pities not himself, but keepeth that bloody Perez, yea, as a coach companion and bed companion, a proud, profane, costly fellow, whose being about him I verily fear the Lord God doth mislike, and doth less bless your brother in credit and otherwise in his health, surely I am utterly discouraged, and make conscience farther to undo myself to maintain such wretches as he is, that never loved your brother, but for his own credit, living upon him." Again, writing to Anthony, 1st April, 1595, she warns him to beware of Lord Heavy Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton and Lord Privy Seal, & nobleman whom she regarded as dangerous, both from his suspected secret leaning to the Popish Spanish faction, and from his character as a deep political intriguer. "He is," says she, "a dangerous intelligencing man; no doubt a subtle Papist inwardly, and lieth in wait-Peradventure he hath some close working with Standen, and the Spaniard, and τοιετοις. He will betray you to divers, and to your aunt Russel among others. The duke had been alive, but by his practising and still soliciting him, to the duke's ruin and the Earl of

Birch's Memoirs, &c., vol. i., p. 107.

[&]quot; Ibid., vol. i., p. 143.

³ Antonio Perez.

⁴ i.e., persons of that stamp.

⁵ Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, elder brother to Lord Henry, beheaded on account of his intrigues with the Queen of Scots, June 2, 1572.

Avoid his familiarity, as you love the truth and yourery instrument of the Spanish Papists. For he pretending
worketh mischief perilously. I have long known him and
him. His workings have been stark naught. Procul esto."

4th of April she renews her advice to him to be "wary of
ward as of a subtle serpent."

And in another letter to
August, 1595, when he was offered by the Earl of Essex
ts in his house, near the Temple, in representing to him
veniences of parting with his own house and removing to
, grounded upon her own long experience of courts, she
anden being there and Lawson, and such, you verily will be
or a practiser, and more misliked and suspected.—God keep
Spanish subtleties and Popery."

4

ndering these prudential advices to Anthony mainly proom an idea that, whatever were his abilities, yet in consehis long residence abroad, and of his being confined mostly umber from his lameness and indifferent health, he had less ity of acquiring experience of mankind, by mingling and g with them, than he otherwise would have had. "You o be wise," says she to him, "and to my comfort I think surely, son, on the other side, for want of home experience , and your tedious unacquaintance with your own country mal chamber and bed-keeping, you must needs miss of te judgment in your verbal only travelling."5 She even him against the insinuating arts of female intriguing tale-In a letter to him of the 5th of August, 1595, after declaritisfaction that the two countesses, sisters, who she found ing to reside in his neighbourhood, were both ladies "who od, and loved His Word zealously, especially the younger se adds, "Yet upon advice and home-experience I would counsel you to be wary and circumspect, and not be too

rl of Arundel was condemned by Philip, in 1589, for treason, but his life and he died in the Tower in 1595.

mat a distance.

Memoirs, &c., vol. i., p. 278.

³ Birch's Memoirs, &c., vol. i., p. 227.

⁵ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 61.

open in wishing to prolong speech with the Countess of War She, after her father's fashion, will search and sound, and I with diligent marking, qua nec sentias aulica perferre ad regis patrissat in illá re nimis." ²

From these quotations from her letters, it appears that Bacon was a woman of strong feelings, and that she was accus to express herself strongly. Her advices and remonstrances indeed, not unfrequently delivered to her sons, especially to the close of her life, with an undue asperity of language, which creating irritation, rendered them less effectual than if the been delivered in a more gentle tone. Her temper, it is pro was naturally severe; and ill health, in her advanced years, h creased this infirmity. But the sincerity and ardour of her tion for her sons is manifest even when she censures them roughly; it is ever their good, both temporal and spiritual, pt larly the latter, she is aiming to promote, her main object bein they might be virtuous, upright, God-fearing men; and the w of her counsels, the profound knowledge they display of court of human nature, the deep sense of Christian duty always pe ing them, do equal honour to the penetration of her judgment acuteness of her observation, and her high-toned Christian racter. Her intense hatred of Popery is a marked feature i correspondence, as will appear to the reader from the few spec we have given. Her knowledge of the character of the system the whole history of her time—the Popish persecution under Mary, and the incessant plots of the Papists against Elizabet her Protestant government, all contributed to foster this sent in her mind.

The Earl of Essex was to Lady Bacon an object of deep in The many noble qualities which distinguished him, "gene

¹ Anne, eldest daughter of Francis, second Earl of Bedford, and widow of 2 Dudley, Earl of Warwick. She died 9th February, 160½. She had two sisters, Elizabeth, wife of William Bourchier, Earl of Bath, and Margaret, un George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.

² Birch's Memoirs, &c., vol. i., p. 270.

y, friendship, valour, eloquence, and industry," as Hume dehim; the intimacy existing between him and her two sons; at liberality with which he treated them, giving Anthony a me yearly salary, and bestowing upon Francis, when he failed are for him the office of solicitor-general, a present of land to ne of £1800-though Francis was afterwards so base as to t the bar against his benefactor when on trial for his lifee united in exciting in the breast of Lady Bacon an affectioncern about whatever related to the welfare of that nobleman, ecially about what related to his best interests, his spiritual rnal well-being. Since his return from the expedition to which he had taken by assault, Essex had assumed an ape of greater strictness in his manner of life, as well as in his nce of the public offices of religion, than before; but he did spe the suspicions and report of relapsing into conjugal infi-This having reached the ears of Lady Bacon, she wrote to etter, dated 1st December, 1596, remarkable for its freedom nstrance. She expresses her gratification at the fame he had d by his military achievements, and at his recently improved n of deportment. "But," adds she, "proh dolor! my good nd after informing him of her having heard that of late he an chargeable with "a backsliding to the foul impudent," ceeds, "You, my good lord, have not so learned Christ, and Iis Holy Word in the 3d, 4th, and 5th verses of the fourth of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. It is written, s the will of God, that ye should be holy and abstain from ion, and every one know how to keep his own vessel in holid honour; and not in the lust of concupiscence, as do the s, which know not God.' And more, if it please you to read rk well, it is a heavy threat, 'that fornicators and adulterers Il judge,' and that they shall be shut out; for such things, ne apostle, commonly cometh the wrath of God upon us. rd, remember and consider your great danger hereby, both and body. Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, but honour

God, that honoured you, and reward him not with such exgreat kindness towards you. My good lord, sin not aga own soul.

"My Lady Stafford said, upon one occasion, in her talk, virtuous countess, your wife, was with child. O honour valiant noble, make great account of this God's blessing to and make not her heart sorrowful, to the hinderance of h fruit within her; for it is thought she took before to heart, her last did not comfortably prosper.

"If you be with the Lord indeed, he will be with you, a your very enemies to reverence you. Be strong in the L and our good patient God. Fear him and walk privately and for his promise in Christ he will assist you, and loo ably upon you and yours, prosper and increase his bless you and yours; which mercy and grace I humbly do, as I bound, call upon him to grant you ever, my dear and wo in Christ Jesus. With my very inward affection have I sumed, ill favouredly to scribble, I confess, being sickly many ways. Boni consulas, te vehementer oro, et quam ope et valeas, vir insignissime, et quantum decet, mihi charis Christo ex animo."

" Primo, Decemb.

"A. BACON, xãρũ [wid

This letter she sent to her son Anthony, to be convey earl. Having received and read it, the earl immediately answer, which Anthony transmitted to his mother, alon letter of his own, in which he expressed his hope "that blessed her Christian and yet most respectful endeavours kind acceptance and effectual impressions." The earl's

² i.e., "Take this in good part, I earnestly beseech you, and may you liv joyment of good health and of all felicity, most illustrious nobleman, and, a

ing, most dear to me. In Christ from the heart."

Birch's Memoirs, &c., vol ii., p. 218.

¹ Frances, daughter and only child of Sir Francis Walsingham. When the Earl of Essex she was the widow of Sir Philip Sidney. After the earl she married, thirdly, the Earl of Clan-Richard, an Irish noblemen.—Camde Elizabeth, London, 1688, pp. 444, 624.

ch is highly courteous, certainly does credit to the generosity of spirit, in receiving, without irritation, the well-meant reproofs admonitions of this venerable lady.

Madam," says he, "that it pleased you to deal thus freely with in letting me know the worst you hear of me, I take it as an ment of God's favour, in sending so good an angel to admonish and of no small care in your ladyship of my welldoing. I know needful these summonses are to all men, especially to those that in this place; and I had rather, with the poor publican, knock breast, and be prostrate, or with the [servant in the gospel], conwhen I have done all I can, I am an unprofitable servant, than risaically to justify myself; but what I write now is for the his sake, and not for mine own. I protest before the majesty of and my protestation is voluntary and advised, that this charge ch is newly laid upon me, is false and unjust. . . . But I in a place where I am hourly conspired against and practised n. . . Worthy lady, think me a weak man, full of imperlots; but he assured I do endeavour to be good, and had rather id my faults than cover them. I wish your ladyship all true hapand rest, at your ladyship's commandment. Burn, I pray you. "Essex."1 lst of December, -96. this letter from his lordship, Lady Bacon replied as follows:-

Thonourable good Lord,—In your incessant and careful affairs rouchafe me, as one almost forgotten in the world, a letter even by your own hand, is far more than my poor estate or ill parts reach unto. God doth divers ways make manifest his love unds you, whereof his church here and our state do reap sweet wit, to the praise of his name and your own honourable fame, the rejoicing in a good conscience. Yet such excellent persons are want amulatores malignos cum fastu. But yet, for all that, godly virtue in the people of God doth, with the palm, rise and passe still, though men strive to suppress and oppress it; and y still shall flourish in the court of the God of glorious majesty, March's Memoirs, &c., vol. ii., p. 219.

Ŷ

Ladies of the Reformation

IN SCOTLAND.







"At midnight mirke they [the persecutors] will us take,
And into prison will us fling,
There mon we ly quhile [i.e., till] we foreake
The name of God, quhilk is our king.

"Then faggots man we harne or beir,
Or to the deid they will us bring:
It does them gude to do us deir,
And to confusion us down thring."
Wedderburne's Gude and Godly Balleto.



INTRODUCTION.

ERTILE as is the field of the Reformation of the sixteenth century in Scotland in materials of great and enduring interest, it presents only a few scattered gleanings in regard to the reformed ladies. This poverty of materials arises mainly from two causes—

from the defective state of female education in Scotland at that period, and from the fact that the ladies attached to the Reformation is Scotland were not called, to any great extent, to suffer persecution and martyrdom.

At the time of the Reformation, and even before it, the ladies of lay, Spain, France, and England, enjoyed distinguished advantages of mental culture. The dispersion of the Greeks, consequent upon the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks, about the year 1443, lad the happiest effects upon the revival of letters in these countries. Italy, which, during the darkest periods of Papal domination, had preserved a degree of refinement and knowledge to which the other nations of Europe were strangers, was the first to experience this included resuscitation. In that country the learned Greek refugees, year the overthrow of their empire, found an asylum; and bringing the them the works of their ancient orators, poets, and historians, to taught these models of eloquence and taste to the Italian

TE

scholars, who studied them with enthusiastic ardour; a studies, by refining their taste, increased their relish for tl writings of their own scarcely less illustrious authors of a Similar were the advantages derived by Spain, France, : land, from the destruction of the Constantinopolitan empire students or learned men, resorting to Italy, were instructe Greek language by some of the most illustrious Greek they besides acquired a pure Latin style under the first Ital ters; and returning home, they industriously laboured to i among their countrymen a taste for the Greek and Roman in opposition to the scholastic and barbarous systems of e then prevalent. So strong was the passion for the culticlassical literature in these countries, that the daughters of lity and gentry were carefully taught the Greek and Ro guages under skilful masters, and in these languages many attained to great proficiency. But Scotland was somewhat deriving these advantages; and when Scotsmen who had in Italy, Germany, and England, to acquire the learning n obtained in their own country, on returning home, introd cultivation of elegant and humanizing literature, the exten high education to the daughters of Scotland, even to those was little thought of. Hence in the history of the Scottish] tion we have no ladies who can vie in learning and accompli with Renée of Ferrara, Olympia Morata, Margaret of Valois rine Parr, Lady Jane Grey, the Ladies Seymour, and the d of Sir Anthony Cooke. Had the Scottish ladies enjoyed oppo of cultivating their minds similar to those enjoyed by the trious ladies, numbers of them would, doubtless, have left them lasting traces of their genius and talents; and there w have been wanting, among the Scottish Reformers, enough of gallantry to do justice to their merits. Henry VIIL, dep he became when advanced in life, patronized learning in I days, and was ambitious to bestow upon his daughters a education; an example which the nobility and gentry er

ed. Had the Scottish throne been filled by a sovereign with ag family of daughters, of whose mental culture he was equally ous, his example would, no doubt, have had a similar effect the Scottish nobility, gentry, and people.

other cause of the scantiness of our information respecting the attached to the Reformation in Scotland, is the circumstance Popish persecutors were not permitted, in the providence of to visit them, in very many instances, with the penalties of 7. The most powerful of the Scottish nobility, and ultimately cottish government itself, having early become favourable to eformation, the Scottish Popish priesthood was soon deprived power of wielding the sword of the state for the exterminaf heretics. It was different in most of the other countries of where the Reformation took footing. In England, for ex-, though Henry cast off the Papal supremacy, yet still cong in all other respects a dogmatic Papist, he ceased not to rute the Reformers; and his bigoted, fanatical daughter, Mary, d them up in whole hecatombs to the Roman Moloch. Thus nd furnishes a much more numerous list of martyrs, of both for the reformed sentiments than Scotland, the number of martyrs under Popery is comparatively small.

the 17th century, the intrepidity of the ladies of Scotland pting them to become fearless confessors and devoted martyrs, onspicuous. Sir Walter Scott, in his Old Mortality, describing solute firmness of the Scottish character during the persecuf Charles II. and James VII., observes—and the observation is to the tender as well as to the hardier sex, as is evident numerous examples in the history of that period—"It seems to the native sycamore of their hills, which scorns to be biased mode of growth, even by the influence of the prevailing wind, hooting its branches with equal boldness in every direction, in no weather-side to the storm, and may be broken, but can be bended." And if the examples of the heroism of the Scotladies who had embraced the reformed sentiments, are less

22.4

numerous in the 16th century than in the 17th, this did from their want of a self-denying, self-immolating spirit, them to hold fast the truth even in death, but from their subjected to the same extent to the fiery ordeal of persecuti

The courageous resolution of the Scottish female characindeed, be traced back to a much earlier period than the tion. It was called forth by the struggles in which Scot ages before, had been engaged, in maintaining its inde against the more powerful kingdom of England; and it was by historic and heroic ballads, which have so powerful an on the character of a rude and semi-barbarous people. The sung not only by travelling minstrels, accompanied with instruments, but by the maidens of Scotland, at their meetings, after the labours of the day were over, gave a tou heroic to the Scottish female character, as well as contribuspire the young men with an adventurous, intrepid s which chivalry and patriotism were combined. One of these composed on the occasion of the defeat of the English at I burn, was the following:—

'Maydens of Englande, sore may ye morne,
For your lemmans' ye have lost at Bannockysborne,
With heue a lowe.
What! weneth the King of England
So soone to have wone Scotlande?
With rumbylowe."²

"This song," says Fabyan, "was, after many days, sung is in the carols of the maidens and minstrels of Scotland reproof and disdain of Englishmen, with divers others, overpass." In the same century Sir John de Soulis, the governor of Eskdale, having, with fifty men, defeated a body commanded by Sir Andrew Herela, who was taken priso

[!] Lovers or sweethearts.

² With heue a lowe—with rumbylowe, appears to have been formerly th burden of a ballad, as "Derrydown" is at present.

new theme for the lyric poet; and the rhyming historian, forbears to "rehearse the manner" of the victory; as,

> "—— quhasa likes thai may hear Young wemen, quhen thai will play, Syng it amang thaim ilk day." ¹

of rank appear to have imbibed the prevailing martial his age. In the 14th century, when, during the war which II. of England maintained in Scotland, the town of Dunseiseged by part of the English army, led on by Montague, ess of March, commonly designated "Black Agnes," deat place with uncommon courage and perseverance. In ontempt of the besiegers, she ordered her waiting-maids to a the walls the dust produced by their battering engines, a sight of the English; and when a tremendous warlike led a sow, approached the walls, she called out, "Montague, your sow shall soon cast her pigs;" which she verified, for se mass of rock, thrown from a lofty tower, accompanied and crushed the ponderous machine and the besiegers ontained.

by the Reformation, the light of uncorrupted Christianity pon Scotland, a nobler, a more thrilling heroism was superhis heroic love of country; for, sublime as is the spectacle by the hero or the heroine who suffers for the sake of is outrivalled in sublimity by the spectacle of the hero or who suffers in the cause of God.

in Scotland, many of the Lollards, or followers of John were to be found in the west, and among them we meet names of some distinguished females. In 1494, in the ames IV., when thirty of "the Lollards of Kyle," so called sident in Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, Ayrshire, were it before the king and his privy council for heresy, by

atson's Historical Essay on Scottish Song, pp. xxvi-xxviii, yne's Hist. of Royal Residences, vol. ii., Kensington Palace, p. 50. · Robert Blackader, Archbishop of Glasgow, several female included in the list; as Helen Chalmers, daughter of John Ch son and heir of Sir John Chalmers of Galdgirth, and wife of Mure of Polkellie; and Marion Chalmers, her sister, and William Dalrymple of Stair. The leading articles of which were accused were, that neither images nor the relics of sai to be worshipped; that after consecration the bread of the eu remains bread, and is not transubstantiated into the body of that to worship it is idolatry; that the mass profits not s purgatory; that the Pope is not the successor of Peter; that ceives the people by his bulls and indulgences; that he remit the pains of purgatory, nor forgive sins, which is the p tive of God alone; that he is the head of the Kirk of Antichr that he exalts himself against and above God; that it is lay priests to marry; and that we should not pray to the Virgin but to God only. Such were the free opinions embraced b bold proselytes of the new school, who had acquired them from disciples of Wickliffe visiting Scotland, and partly from ing his translation of the Scriptures in their private concealed ings; and, like all ardent proselytes, they had been zealous seminating their deep hatred of the doctrines and practices Romish Church. "Yet God," says Knox, "so assisted his se partly by inclining the king's heart to gentleness (for di them were his great familiars), and partly by giving bold an answers to their accusers, that the enemies in the end were fi of their purpose."1

It appears to have been at or about this time that the John Campbell of Cesnock, Janet Montgomery, the seventh d of Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton, and Campbell himself,² peril of their lives on account of their having embraced t trines of Wickliffe. Both of them were persons of exalted pictures.

1 Knox's History, Wodrow Society edition, vol. i., pp. 7-11.

² He was the first of the Campbells of Cesnock, and was the son of S Campbell of Loudoun, Sheriff of Ayr, the seventh in the genealogical tal family.—Robertson's Ayrshire Families, vol. ii., p. 207.

e was a school of Christian instruction; for they kept a o read to them and their family the New Testament in acular tongue; and the deportment of the whole housesponded with the spirit of that sacred book. They also e poor by all kind offices; and although convinced from that superstition and hypocrisy are displeasing to God, as their benevolent disposition, that they still continued the monks into their house, and to treat them hospitably. they would familiarly converse with their guests upon doctrine, and condemn the almost universally prevailing Taking advantage of this, and violating the laws of , the monks brought before the bishop an accusation of inst the lady, her husband, and the priest. The accused anger of their lives, Campbell appealed to the king, James graciously heard the cause on both sides, notwithstanding sure of the ecclesiastics, who claimed the exclusive power cases of this nature. Campbell, not a little agitated by monks, and unwilling to commit himself, answered with Joon this the king, having commanded the wife to adduce and to say in self-defence, she pled the cause of them all ability and boldness, readily and appropriately quoting Scriptures in support of her statements, as to astonish the who not only acquitted all the defendants-Campbell, his he priest-but also, rising up, heartily shook Mrs. Campe hand, and highly commended her acquaintance with doctrine. Having severely reproved the monks, he that if ever after they should, in this manner, harass grable and innocent persons, he would inflict upon them punishment; and he presented to Campbell certain vilmemorial of this honourable acquittal, and of the high h Campbell held in the royal favour. These facts are rea nearly contemporary author, Alexander Ales. 1 They

edication of his work, entitled Responsio ad Cochlei calumias, 1534, to V., quoted in Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. ii., p. 400.

are also celebrated by Mr. John Davidson, afterwards minister of Prestonpans, in his poem commemorative of Mr. and Mrs. Campbell of Kinyeancleuch. After informing us, as he had been told by honest aged men of Kyle, that the laird of Cesnock, "eightie years sensyne and mare," had been doomed to public execution at Edinburgh, by the ecclesiastics, "for Christ's evangell, which he read," but rescued by James IV., he adds:—

"Some sayes death was alswel prepard,
For priest and lady as the lard:
This story I could not passe by,
Being so well worth memory:
Whereby most clearlie we may see,
How that the Papists loudly lie,
Who our religion so oft cald,
A faith but of fiftie yeare ald."

It was then little dreamed of that these Lollards were laying the train for that explosion of opinion which was afterwards to shake the Papacy to its foundations in Scotland, and to establish the Reformation.

None of the Scottish queens or princesses, at the period of the Reformation, had the honour of supporting that great cause. Hopes were entertained that the first queen of James V., the beautiful amiable, and accomplished Princess Magdalene, eldest surviving daughter of Francis I. of France, by his excellent queen, Claude, sister of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, would patronize the new opinions, or at least throw the weight of her influence on the side of toleration. Having, when only four years of age, lost her mother, who died on the 20th of July, 1524, she was brought up under the care of her aunt, Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon, afterwards Queen of Navarre, a well known patroness of the French Reformers, many of whose doctrines she had embraced; and it was believed that the mind of Magdalene had been imbued, by the instructions of her relative, with the same enlightened and liberal principles. But she did not long survive her union with James,

¹ i.e., from the date of the composition of the poem, which was in 1574.

solemnized on the 1st of January, 1537, in the church of me, Paris. The fatal disease of consumption, derived mother, had begun to undermine her health before her and she died on the 10th of July, forty days after her Scotland, 1 having nearly completed her seventeenth e sincere regret of all classes of subjects, with the exceppriests and prelates, who dreaded the overthrow of their power, from the influence of a queen who had been inder the inspection of a person of such suspicious orthofargaret of Valois.2 It was on this occasion, observes that "mourning dresses were first worn by the Scots, lds he, "now after forty years, are not very common, public fashions have greatly increased for the worse." and queen of James V., namely, Mary of Guise, who upon of James became queen regent, was hostile to the Refornd her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, who was educated ench court, was trained up in a blind devotion to the urch, and taught by her uncles, the Guises, to believe that e the glory of her reign to restore her kingdom to the a of the Pope. This, which could not have been accomthout rekindling the flames of persecution, it was her achieve, wherever a fit opportunity offered itself. But e had never the means of doing serious injury to the cause in Scotland. On her arrival at Edinburgh, on the ugust, 1561, to assume the reins of government, finding tants in possession of the power of the state, she had to yield to circumstances; and a few years after, her articularly her participation in the murder of her husband. aley, entirely and for ever stripped her of the sovereign ich fell into the hands of the Reformers.

nmond.—Holinshed's Chronicles, &c., Loudon, 1808, vol. v., p. 513.





CATHARINE HAMILTON.

SISTER OF PATRICK HAMILTON, THE MARTYR.



ATHARINE HAMILTON, the first of the Scottish female representatives of the Reformation to which we introduce the reader, was the daughter of Sir Patrick Hamilton, of Kincavil, Linlithgowshire, by his wife, who was a daughter of John, Duke of Albany, brother to James III. Her father was a natural son of James, first Lord Hamilton, the father of James, second Lord Hamilton, and first Earl of Arran, whose

es, second Earl of Arran, and Regent of Scotland, was, next Queen of Scots, nearest heir to the Scottish crown. Thus, father's side, she was nobly though not royally descended; the mother's side she was related to the royal family of Scotshe was sister to the famous Patrick Hamilton, the first ho suffered martyrdom in Scotland for the Protestant faith;

ton affirms his legitimacy, supposing that he was a son of Lord Hamilton, and wife, Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of King James II., and relict of toyd, Earl of Arran.—History of Scotland under the house of Stuart, vol. ii.,

But Douglas has proved, from charters, that he was an illegitimate son of man.—Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 697.

and she had another brother, Sir James, who also embraced the reformed sentiments. On the 2d of May, 1520, she lost her father, who fell on the High Street of Edinburgh, in a feud between the Earls of Arran and Angus, when about seventy men were slain, and James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, narrowly escaped with his life. Beaton was at that time one of the Hamilton party, though he afterwards, when Archbishop of St. Andrews, made her brothers and herself feel the power of his wrath.

The chief means by which Katharine was brought to the knowledge and belief of the reformed doctrines, were the instructions of her brother Patrick and the reading of the New Testament in English; for copies of Tyndale's New Testament had by this time been brought into Scotland. Her brother Patrick, after he had returned to Scotland from Germany, in 1527, inflamed with an unquenchable desire to communicate to his blinded countrymen the knowledge of the true way of salvation which had dawned upon his own mind, taught her the same divine and saving truths.

The burning of her brother, on the last day of February, 1528, shortly after his arrival in Scotland, made a deep impression on her mind, and confirmed her convictions of the truth of the principles which he had taught her, and for which he had suffered.

About six years after his martyrdom she was exposed to no small danger of sharing the same fate. Her relation to him had made her an object of suspicion to James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had brought her brother to the stake, and to other ecclesiatics, who were waiting for an opportunity of proceeding against her for heresy.

At length she, with several others, were cited to appear before an ecclesiastical court, to be held in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, in August, 1534, to answer to the charge of maintaining heresies repugnant to the faith of the Holy Catholic Church, and condemned by general councils and by the most famous universities. On the

¹ He succeeded to the metropolitan see in 1522.

² Pinkerton's Hist. of Scot. under the house of Stuart, vol. ii., pp. 180-183.

D.

pointed, several of those summoned appeared before the n which James Hay, Bishop of Ross, presided as commisfor Beaton, the metropolitan archbishop; and refusing to were sentenced to the flames—as David Straiton, a gentleman ouse of Laurieston, and Norman Gourlay. Others who aphaving abjured and publicly burned their bills, were par-Others sought safety in flight, as Katharine's brother, Sir of Kincavil, Sheriff of Linlithgowshire, who was condemned absence as a heretic, and his goods and lands confiscated. ine made her appearance, and the special charge brought her was her maintaining that none could be saved by their orks, and that justification is to be obtained exclusively faith in the righteousness of Christ. She admitted that ere her sentiments. Upon this, Mr. John Spence, lawyer, erwards king's advocate, one of those who had sat in judgn her brother Patrick in 1528, began to argue the question er. To enlighten her mind on the doctrine of the merit of orks, he proceeded to a lengthened discussion of the subject, her that there were divers sorts of good works-" works of ty and works of condignity"-each of which had attached a peculiar kind of merit. "Works of congruity," said he, iose done antecedently to justification, which prepare for the on of grace, and which it is congruous for God, in his goodreward, by infusing his grace. Works of condignity are erformed after justification, from freewill, assisted by the nfused at justification, which are meritorious, not only beod has promised a reward to them, but likewise on account atrinsic value of the works themselves." To Katharine, who t studied dialectics, the abstruse distinctions, with which seemed so familiar, were probably new, and served only lex her mind. At last, her patience being exhausted with iousness and subtilty of his argumentation, which entirely o convince her, she cried out, "Work here, work there, what f working is all this? I know perfectly that no kind of works can save me but only the works of Christ, my Lord and Saviour." King James V., who was present in the court during that day, clothed in red apparel, on hearing the very summary manner in which she had disposed of the lawyer's learned casuistry, was much amused, and turning about, he laughed heartily. By the entreaties and blandishments of the monarch, who was, doubtless, actuated by a humane solicitude to save her life, she was prevailed upon to retract her sentiments. "He called her unto him," says Calderwood, "and caused her to recant, because she was his aunt; and so she escaped." Had she remained inflexible, she would probably have been doomed, like Straiton and Gourlay, to perish at the stake.

But if she had not the resolution of her brother Patrick, who preferred an honourable death to an abandonment of the truth, she was not long in repenting of the concessions which she had been induced to make, and dreading the wrath of Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, she left Scotland in the close of the year 1535; and, like her brother, Sir James,² proceeded to England, where she was introduced to Jane Seymour, queen of Henry VIII. In the spring of the year 1539, she was residing at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and had been there a considerable time before, being still afraid to return to

¹ History, vol. i., p. 109.

² Various allusions to Sir James, while in Eugland, occur in the state correspondence of the period. On the 3d of March, 1535, Sir Adam Otterburn had written to Cromwell respecting him. In August, Cranmer introduced him to Cromwell as a gentleman who had left his country for no other cause but "that he favoured the truth of God's Word." On the 26th of February, 1536, Cranmer again wrote to Cromwell, requesting him "to move the king for somewhat to be given him to live on here in Eugland." On the 24th of April, Sir James sent to Cromwell a copy of the sentence pronounced against him by the court held in Holyrood Abbey, praying that Henry VIII. would interpose with the Scottish monarch in his behalf. Cromwell, in the name of his royal master, did so by letter, and the reply from Stewart, the lord treasurer, dated 19th May, was, "that while the lady of Sir James and his children wanted nothing necessary for their maintenance, his highness (though his relation) could not help him, neither direct nor indirect, without danger to his conscience, except the gentleman be first reconciled to and by the pontiff."-State Papers, vol. v., pp. 21, 41, 49. Sir James, however, was permitted by his sovereign to return to Scotland in 1540 -Calderwood's History, vol. i., p. 139.

sotland, from the danger to which the adherents of the reformed entiments were exposed. These facts, which close the scanty notices of her life which time has preserved, are recorded by the Duke of Norfolk, in a letter to Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal, dated 19th March, 1539. "Daily cometh unto me," says Norfolk, "some centlemen and some clerks, which do flee out of Scotland, as they say, for reading of Scripture in English; saying that if they were taken they should be put to execution. I give them gentle words, and to some money. Here is now, in this town, and hath been a good season, she that was wife to the late Captain of Dunbar, and hare not return for holding our ways, as she saith. She was in England, and saw Queen Jane. She is Sir Patrick Hamilton's daughter, and her brother was burnt in Scotland three or four years ago." 1

Katharine had, indeed, at present much reason for apprehension in the event of her returning to Scotland. Between the years 1534 and 1537, many persons were prosecuted for heresy; but towards the close of the year 1538, when David Beaton was raised to the lignity of a cardinal, and made assistant and successor to his uncle. James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the persecution was carried on with aggravated fury. On the 1st of the month in which the Duke of Norfolk wrote that letter containing the allusion to her, ust quoted, five Reformers-Friar Kyllor, Friar Beveridge, Sir Dunan Simson, a regular clergyman, Robert Forrester, a gentleman, and Thomas Forrest, Vicar of Dollar-were committed to the flames, pon the Castle Hill of Edinburgh.2 If, therefore, before, she was umid to return to Scotland, lest she might be involved in the punshment, as she was involved in the guilt of heresy, this alarming atelligence increased her fears, the more especially as Cardinal Beaton, who was now high in power, was a man of more remorseess cruelty than even his uncle.

State Papers, vol. v., p. 155. Norfolk, who did not interest himself much in interest this kind, is incorrect as to the date of her brother's martyrdom, which took for cleven years before this.

^{*} Knon's History, vol. i., pp. 61-63.



HELEN STARK.

WIFE OF JAMES RANOLDSON.

PON the death of James V., a few days after to of his daughter and successor, Mary, who we December 8, 1542, a regency was necessary dur minority of the infant queen. Cardinal David who for many years had been, to all intents a

poses, prime minister to James V., claimed and assumed the di regent, solely upon the authority of a testament which he had forged in the name of the deceased king. But, by the una choice of the nobility, James Hamilton, second Earl of Arra after Mary, was next heir to the throne, was appointed regent, to the public satisfaction. Arran, however, who was feet vacillating, was ill qualified to preside at the helm of government such stormy times; and having, in the beginning of Septembe from the terror of Cardinal Beaton and his faction, publicly re the reformed faith, which he had previously professed and patr and returned to the bosom of the Romish Church, he was entirely governed by Beaton that he had only the title of Beaton possessing all the power of that office, without the envy name. The apostasy of Arran was the origin of that unrel persecution of the Protestants which, after the lapse of a few m was unexpectedly renewed, and in which Helen Stark, the of the present notice, fell a victim. At the solicitation of the nal, he carried through Parliament, on the 15th of December, 1543, a resolution in which, after adverting to the great complaints made of the increase of heretics within the realm, he exhorts all prelates and ordinaries, within their respective dioceses and jurisdictions, to inquire after all such persons, and to proceed against them according to the laws of the church, assuring the bishops that he should be ready at all times to do therein as became his office, in other words, that he would sanction by his authority the punishment of heretics, even by death.

The cardinal immediately proceeded to give effect to this persecuting act. With this for his object, in the beginning of the year 1543-4, he first made an ecclesiastical progress to Perth, where the reformed opinions were openly professed by some of the citizens, accompanied by the regent and other persons of distinction.² On his arrival, which was on St. Paul's day, the 25th of January, he commenced his bloody work. Many were accused of heresy, but only Helen Stark, with five others, were, on the information of a friar, named Spence, apprehended. These other five were Robert Lamb, merchant; William Anderson, maltman; James Finlayson; James Hunter, flesher; and James Ranoldson, skinner, Helen's husband. They were all arrested on the very day of the cardinal's arrival in Perth, and imprisoned in the Spey Tower, that on the morrow they might be arraigned as heretics.

Upon the morrow Helen and the rest were brought before their judges, and something like the form of a trial was gone through. All

Acta Parl. Scot., vol. ii., p. 443.

We follow Knox, Fore, and Calderwood in the chronology of the progress. Knox ways it was on "St. Paul's day before the first burning of Edinburgh," by the English twops under the Earl of Hertford. Now the first burning was in May, 1544.—History, Wodrow Soc. edition, vol. i., p. 117. Foxe gives the same date, upon the authority of extracts from the registers of the court sent from Scotland.—Acts and Monuments, was. v. p. 623. Calderwood confirms the accuracy of this chronology (History, vol. i., p. 137), and it is farther corroborated, from various documents, by the editor of Knox's History. Buchanan is therefore incorrect in referring this progress to the end of the Test 1545. Keith, in a very unsatisfactory note, disputes the commonly assigned date, and adopts that of Buchanan.—History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, pp. 40, 41.

of them, in general, were charged with holding meetings for co upon and explaining the Sacred Scriptures, contrary to the ac liament 1542-3, whereby the lieges were forbidden to argue or concerning the sense of the Holy Scriptures. Other offen imputed to one or more of them in particular. Robert L James Ranoldson were charged with having interrupted Fria while teaching, in a sermon at Perth, upon All-Hallow I 1st November, that a man could not be saved without prayin saints, and with having declared in the face of the audience doctrine was false, and contrary to the Holy Scriptures. Anderson, James Finlayson, and James Ranoldson were with having treated disrespectfully the image of St. Fra hanging it up on a cord, nailing two ram's horns on its h putting a cow's rump to its tail; and with having eaten upon All-Hallow-e'en. James Hunter was a man of weal standing, and had little religious knowledge, but, having ke pany with these persons, he was accused of heresy. The charges brought against Helen Stark were, that in child had refused to call upon the Virgin Mary, the special p of lying-in women, according to the legends of the Popish though exhorted to do so by her neighbours, declaring would pray to God alone, in the name of Christ; and that she "that had she lived in the time of the Virgin Mary, God mig shown respect to her low estate, as he had done to the Vir making her the mother of Christ;" by which she simply me it was not from any merit of her own that the Virgin Mary o in preference to other women, the honour of being made the of Christ, but that this was solely owing to the free undeserve ness of God. These words, which the clergy and the whole multitude accounted most execrable, and her refusal to place under the special protection of the blessed Virgin, the mothe Redeemer, as was the fashion throughout Christendom for under their confinement, were considered undoubted proofs of The six prisoners were pronounced guilty of violating th

Parliament formerly referred to, by the verdict of a jury, and were condemned to die, the men to be hanged at the common place of execution, and Helen Stark to be drowned in a pool in the neighbourhood. After the sentence was pronounced, the male prisoners had their hands bound, which, when Helen witnessed, she requested to be bound also by the officers with her husband. The town of Perth, strongly sympathizing with Helen and the other condemned prisoners, interceded with the governor in their behalf, and he would willingly have saved their lives, had he not been overawed by the cardinal and the cruel priests, to whose persecuting policy he was now committed, and who, he dreaded, might assist his enemies in deposing him from the regency, provided he failed to sanction their sanguinary measures for putting down heresy. Certain priests in the town, who had been accustomed to visit Helen's house, and the houses of her fellow-sufferers in the days of their ignorance, and who had partaken of their hospitality, were earnestly entreated to interpose with the cardinal to prevent the execution of the sentence, but they absolutely refused. Thereafter the male prisoners, attended by a numerous body of soldiers to prevent a tumult, which the persecutors, from the unpopularity of their proceedings, dreaded, were conducted to the place of execution, which was under the windows of the Spev Tower. All of them comforted one another, expressing their assurance that they would sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, and, commending their spirits to God, they surrendered their lives with fortitude and constancy.

Helen and her husband had lived together in the tenderest union, and in the ardour of her affection she implored, as a last request, that she might be permitted to die with him; but she had been sentenced to undergo a different kind of death, and the affecting request was denied. Being allowed to accompany him to the place of execution, she ministered to him consolation by the way, exhorting him to patience and constancy in the cause of Christ, and parting from him with a kiss, she expressed her feelings in these singularly touching words, the sincere effusion of the heart, for the occasion was too

serious for mere theatrical display of sentiment: "Husband, be glad; we have lived together many joyful days, but this day, on which we must die, ought to be the most joyful of all to us both, because now we shall have joy for ever. Therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven."

Immediately after his execution, and the execution of his fellowmartyrs, she was led forth to a pool of water in the neighbourhood, to undergo the death to which she had been condemned. On her way, passing by the monastery of the Franciscans or Gray Friars, which was situated on the south-east corner of the town, near the river, she said, "They sit in that place quietly who are the cause of our death this day, but they who witness this execution upon us shall, by the grace of God, shortly see their nest shaken;" words which were fully verified in 1559, when that monastery, together with the Dominican or Black Friars' monastery, and the Charter House or Carthusian monastery, were completely demolished in a tumult of the excited populace.2 Upon reaching the pool she prepared for her fate. Having several children, one of whom was an infant hanging upon her breast, a scene of the most affecting nature was exhibited, which strongly moved the spectators, many of whom could not refrain from shedding tears. Her affections being now strongly excited towards her orphan children, the thought of separation from them seemed for a moment to disturb the serenity of her mind, and she commended them to the compassion of her neighbours. But the most powerfully exciting cause of agitation and agony, was her parting with her sucking child. This beloved object, at whose couch she had often sung, in the joyousness of her heart, her favourite airs she took from her bosom, and after fixing upon it a last look, full of the tender yearnings of a mother's heart, gave it to the friend who had undertaken to become its nurse. This struggle with parental affection made the sacrifice of her life the more trying, but it made it

¹ Calderwood's History, vol. i., p. 175.

² Besides these three monasteries, there was another in Perth, that of the Carmelles or White Friars.

more magnanimous, the more sacred, the more acceptable Recovering from the shock, she yielded herself to death wavering faith, calm tranquillity, and heroic fortitude. With-



Helen Stark parting with her Child.

change of countenance, she saw her hands and her feet bound executioner. Thus secured, and being tied in a sack, she was into the water. After a momentary struggle her redeemed mancipated from all its sorrows, was rejoicing before the of God; and may we not affirm that, next to the Saviour, he first to welcome her into that happier state of being were husband and his fellow-sufferers, who had reached it, per-redly an hour before?

her Helen Stark and the other martyrs were offered their on condition of recantation, we are not informed. The prois that they were not; that the inexorable cardinal was ned, under whatever circumstances, to make a terrible exf these heretics, thereby to arrest the progress of heresy by g universal terror, and to set a pattern for the other prelates awood's History of the Church of Scotland, London, 1655, book ii. p. 75.



ISABEL SCRIMGER,

WIFE OF RICHARD MELVILLE.

SABEL SCRIMGER, was a daughter of Walter Scrimger, of Glaswell, "a branch of the honourable family of Diddup, in which the office of royal standard-bearer, and of constable of Dundee, had been long hereditary." She was sister to Henry Scrimsor of Civil Law in the Protestant university of Geneva, whose exertions for the revival of letters reflected great Scotland, although his name is now known to few of his n." Her husband, Richard Melville, was proprietor of small estate situated on the banks of the South Esk, le to the south-west of the town of Montrose; and, after nation, minister of the kirk of Maritoun, which was adjaown house.1 Like him she was "godly, faithful, and htened with the light of the gospel, at the first dawning thereof within Scotland." The reformed sentiments had considerable progress in Angus and Mearns, and she was eir first converts in these counties. She had profited from actions of John Erskine, of Dun, and of the reformed who were brought to her neighbourhood by that excellent hose castle, where they were hospitably received and proetings were held for hearing the Scriptures read and ex-M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville, vol. i., pp. 5, 39, 41, 421.

pounded. She was also indebted for confirmation in the tru George Wishart, who had returned in 1544 to Scotland, from the secution of his studies at Cambridge, full of zeal for the pure go and had opened a school at Montrose.

Mrs. Melville was a very amiable, kind-hearted woman, as w of a contemplative turn of mind, and much given to the exercis devotion; on which account she was "exceedingly beloved by husband, friends, and neighbours." Her husband had eight thers, and their father having fallen in the battle of Pinkie, Musselburgh, fought between the Scots and the English under command of the Duke of Somerset, in the year 1547, and mother having died in the same year, the younger of them, unprovided for, became dependent upon him. His Christian ciple and his warm fraternal affection did not permit him to ne his duty, and he acted towards them in all respects the part father; nor was she less attentive in promoting their comfort welfare than if they had been her own children. Towards And the youngest-afterwards so celebrated in the ecclesiastical and rary annals of his country-who, when little more than two; of age, was brought home to her house, she was especially nursing him with all the tenderness of a mother. These brot and Andrew in particular, who, from his tender age, had en a larger share of her maternal sympathy than the others, ever remembered her with heart-felt gratitude, and delighted to s of the overflowing goodness of her benevolent heart, and o endearing acts of kindness she had conferred upon them in early years. "I have divers times heard," says her youngest James, "when my father's brothers, Roger, John, Mr. James, Robert, could not satisfy themselves in commending her godli honesty, virtue, and affection towards them. And I have heard Mr. Andrew say, that he being a bairn very sickly, was lovingly and tenderly treated and cared for by her, embracing and kissing him oftentimes, with these words, 'God give me an lad like thee, and syne tak me to his rest!' Now she had had laddies before me, whereof the eldest was dead; and betwixt him and the second she bore three lasses; so, in end, God granted her desire, and gave her ane, who would to God he were as like to Mr. Andrew in gifts of mind as he is thought to be in proportion of body and lineaments of face; for there is none that is not otherwise particularly informed, but takes me for Andrew's brother."

"There is something peculiarly interesting," says Dr. M'Crie, "though it does not always meet with the attention which it merits, in the reciprocations of duty and affection between persons placed in the relation and circumstances now described. By means of instinct, and by identifying the interests of parent and child, Providence has wisely secured the performance of duties which are equally necessary to the happiness of the individual and of the species. But without wishing to detract from the amiable virtue of parental attachment, we may say, that its kind offices, when performed by those who stand in a remoter degree of relationship, may be presumed to partake less of the character of selfishness. And they are calculated to excite, in the generous breast of the cherished orphan, a feeling which may be viewed as purer and more enthusiastic than that which is merely filial -a feeling of a mixed kind, in which the affection borne to a parent is finely combined with the admiration and the gratitude due to a disinterested benefactor.'2

Mrs. Melville died in the year 1557, within a year after the birth of her son James, who became only second in celebrity to his uncle Andrew, in the ecclesiastical transactions of his country in his day. Thus this lady was honoured to stand in very close relationship to two men, to whose exertions, in the close of the 16th century, and in the beginning of the 17th, in defending her ecclesiastical liberties, Scotland must ever lie under a deep debt of gratitude. She was the foster-mother of the one, and the natural mother of the other.

Her eldest daughter, Isabel, who had been trained up under her own eye, possessed much of her own excellence of character; but

¹ James Melville's Diary, Wodrow Soc. edition, p 15.

Life of Andrew Melville, vol. i., p. 5.

n and exhortations, that I thank thee, my God, I abstained from my days thereafter; and wherever I was, if I could have n any thing to buy, worthy of her, I was accustomed to send it n token of our affection, so long as she lived. This benefit I of God, by her means, that winter, for increase of his fear, and sty of life." He thus affectionately records her death:—"The ming of this year [1574] was most dulfull to me, by the departor my dearest sister Isabel, who died of her first-born; in whom my natural mother the second time."

James Melville's Diary, p. 18.

2 Ibid., p. 28.





ELIZABETH ASKE,

MARJORY BOWES.



Y birth these two ladies were English; but we include them among our notices of the reformed ladies Scotland, from their relation to the illustrious Sco tish Reformer, John Knox, the one having been h mother-in-law, and the other his wife. We sha combine into one narrative such memorials of their lives as have

come down to our time. Elizabeth Aske was a daughter and co-heiress of Sir Roger Ask of Aske, in Yorkshire; and her husband, Richard Bowes, was th gest son of Sir Ralph Bowes, of Streatlam. She had to Bowes ily of two sons and ten daughters, of which Marjory was the laughter.1

se two ladies became acquainted with Knox during the period officiating as a preacher in the town of Berwick, in 1549 and by appointment of the Privy Council of England. The mother, nan of deep piety, highly appreciated his talents and character; ad derived from his sermons much instruction and pleasure; he contracted with him an intimate friendship, which remained ken till her death. At the same time, a mutual attachment g up between him and her daughter Marjory, which ultiv issued in their union.2

s. Bowes had been educated in the Popish religion, and con-I in the profession of it during the first part of her life; but, g been brought to the knowledge of the reformed principles, mbraced them with ardent zeal, and, though constitutionally adhered to them with unshaken firmness of purpose, in the of much temptation and opposition. These facts we learn a letter written to her by Knox in 1554. "God," says he, given unto you many probations of his fatherly love and care he bears towards you; for what love was that which God low unto you when he called you from the bondage of idolatry, that so long ye had been plunged in the same, to the brightf his mercy, and to the liberty of his chosen children to serve n spirit and verity. How mercifully did God look upon you, he gave you boldness rather to forsake friends, country, posn, children, and husband, than to forsake God, Christ Jesus on, and his religion known and professed! Was it not an ed sign of God's favour towards you, that in the time of blasous idolatry, he brought you into the bosom of his kirk, and fed you with the sweet promises of his mercy? and now, in d, hath he brought you home again to your native country, in . I trust, ye shall be compelled to do nothing against your

Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii., p. 407.

2 Ibid., vol. i., p. 88.

conscience, which ought and must be ruled by God's Word only."

In another communication to her he says, "I write this to the praise of God. I have wondered at that bold constancy which I have found in you, at such time as mine own heart was faint."

Mrs. Bowes was much afflicted with melancholy, the result, in a great measure, of ill health and physical temperament; and this exerted a powerful influence over her religious exercise and feelings. It led her to occupy her thoughts more with her own unworthiness and defilement in the eyes of infinite purity, than with the unbounded love and mercy of God towards the chief of sinners. Hence the predominance of self-abasement, sorrow of spirit for sin, and apprehensions of the wrath of God, in the frame of her mind, depriving her of the joy to be derived from the consoling truths of religion. Into her emotions of sorrow no one could enter with a truer and deeper sympathy than Knox, as his correspondence with her abundantly shows. His Fort for the Afflicted, in an Exposition of the Sixth Psalm, was undertaken to alleviate her inward troubles. Yet by all his efforts he could never altogether remove from her mind the painful dejection to which it was subject.

Before Knox left Berwick, he and Marjory Bowes interchanged mutual pledges of fidelity. In a note to a letter to Mrs. Bowes, which he added to the answer he published to the Jesuit Tyrie, he says, "I had made faithful promise, before witnesses, to Marjory Bowes, her daughter." The mother was friendly to the intended union; and hence, after this, Knox always addresses her, in his letters, by the name of mother. The father, and some relatives on his side were, on the other hand, opposed to the match, partly from family pride, not thinking the Scottish ecclesiastic of sufficiently honourable condition to form an alliance with a member of their family; and partly, it would appear, from want of sympathy with the Reformation, if not from direct and open hostility to it. This

¹ Knox's Works, vol. iii., p. 392.

² Knox's Select Practical Writings, Free Church publications, p. 132.

³ Ibid., p. 106, &c.

opposition deeply wounded the feelings of the young lady, and of her mother, as well as of Knox. In a letter to Mrs. Bowes, Knox gives expression to his bitterness of spirit on this account in these words:- "Dear mother, so may and will I call you, not only for the tender affection I bear unto you in Christ, but also for the motherly kindness ye have shown unto me, at all times, since our first acquaintance; albeit, such things as I have desired (if it had pleased God), and ye and others have long desired, are never like to come to pass, yet shall ye be sure that my love and care towards you shall never abate, so long as I can care for any earthly creature. Ye shall understand that, this 6th of November, I spake with Sir Robert Bowes' on the matter ye know, according to your request; whose disdainful, yea, despiteful words, have so pierced my heart, that my life is bitter unto me. I bear a good countenance with a sore troubled heart; while he that ought to consider matters with a deep judgment is become not only a despiser, but also a taunter of God's messengers. God be merciful unto him! Among other his most unpleasing words, while that I was about to have declared my heart in the whole matter, he said, 'Away with your rhetorical reasons! for I will not be persuaded with them.' God knows I did use no rhetoric or coloured speech, but would have spoken the truth, and that in most simple manner. I am not a good orator in my own cause, but what he would not be content to hear of me, God shall declare to him one day, to his displeasure, unless he repent. It is supposed that all the matter comes by you and me."2

The marriage was therefore, in the meantime, postponed, in the hope that the father and other obstinate relatives might relent. At last, when the prospect of this appeared hopeless, the union was solemnized about the summer of the year 1553, soon after the accession of Queen Mary to the English throne.³

Mrs. Knox and her mother were anxious that Knox should aettle in Berwick, or in its neighbourhood, though it was extremely

¹ Mrs. Bowes's brother-in-law.

² Knox's Works, vol. iii., p. 378.

M'Crie's Life of Knoz, vol. i., pp. 112, 114.

doubtful now, when Mary was swaying the English sceptre, v a man who had been so zealous a preacher in England in th of Edward VI., would be allowed to remain there in peace though he should live in privacy. Her father was abundan to give her and her husband a sufficient establishment; ar Bowes, who cherished towards Knox a deep unchanging at as if he had been her own son, did what she could to rem unkind feelings which her husband had conceived against h to obtain some arrangement by which her daughter and sor might take up their residence in Berwick, but without succe these, her friendly endeavours to realize what she herself a own daughter so earnestly desired, and to which Knox appe to have been disinclined, he gratefully refers in a letter written from London, on the 20th of September, 1553. labours," says he, "wherein I desire your daily prayers, v suffer me to satisfy my mind touching all the process between husband and you, touching my matter concerning his daugh praise God heartily both for your boldness and constancy. beseech you, mother, trouble not yourself too much therew becomes me now to jeopard my life for the comfort and deli of my own flesh [his wife], as that I will do by God's grac fear and friendship of all earthly creature laid aside. I have to your husband, the contents whereof I trust our brother will declare to you and to my wife. If I escape sickness and sonment [you may] be sure to see me soon."1

Besides the painful feelings she experienced from her faths pleasure at her marriage, Mrs. Knox was, immediately after in a state of distressing anxiety from the persecution to whic was exposed, from his indefatigable diligence in preaching the in various parts of England. He was obliged to conceal I and his enemies continuing the search for him with unrelaxing gence, he set sail for France, and landed safely at Dieppe, a Normandy, in that kingdom, on the 20th January, 1554, 1

¹ M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i., pp. 114, 115 .- Knox's Works, vol. iii., p.

having had no opportunity of seeing him previously to his leaving the country.1

During his absence at this time, which was nearly two years,2 she did not follow him to the continent, but remained at Berwick with her parents. She and her mother were now assailed by the importunities of her father to conform to the Popish religion, which Mary had re-established in England. Whatever were his own sentiments, he had no hesitation in accommodating himself to the times, and he seems to have thought that it was foolish scrupulosity for them to refuse to conform and to expose themselves to the penalties of heresy. But neither of them would yield to his solicitations. Casting aside worldly hopes and fears, and listening only to the dictates of conscience, they evinced, in the most decided manner, their determination not to forsake, upon any consideration, the faith which they had embraced from full conviction of its truth.3 Knox, in his correspondence with them, confirmed them in their good resolutions. Writing to Mrs. Bowes, he thus exhorts her in reference to this subject, and the advices which he tenders to her were equally intended for his wife :- "If man or angel shall labour to bring you back from the confession that once ye have given, let them in that behalf be accursed, and in no part (concerning your faith and religion) obeyed of you. If any trouble you above measure, whether they be magistrates or carnal friends, they shall bear their just condemnation unless they speedily repent. But whosoever it be that shall solicit or provoke you to that abominable idol, resist you all such boldly unto the end; learning of the Holy Ghost not to defile the temple of God with idols; neither yet to give your bodily presence unto them; but obeying God more than man, avoid all appearance of iniquity. . . . Continue stoutly to the end, and bow you never before that idol, and so will the rest of worldly troubles

M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i., p. 133 .- Knox's Works, vol. iii., p. 345.

¹ M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i., pp. 118-120.—Knox's Works, vol. iii., pp. 370, 371.

He spent some time in Switzerland, where he contracted an intimate friendship with Calvin, officiated for some time as minister to the English exiles at Frankfort, till he was driven from them by the dissensions about the Liturgy.

be unto me more tolerable. With my own heart I oft yea, and as it were comforting myself, I appear to triu God shall never suffer you to fall in that rebuke." ¹

In this period of trial and persecution, Mrs. Knox mother, while deprived of the preaching of the Word, we habit of meeting together for religious exercises, with serviduals in the city of Berwick, who, like themselves, refused ever peril, to countenance with their presence the Popisl When Knox, after his return from the continent, about of harvest, 1555, had the pleasure of seeing them again, mutual congratulation that none of them had polluted then bowing the knee to the established idolatry, or entering we precints of a Popish temple.²

Mrs. Knox enjoyed his society only for a short time, quence of a secret journey which he undertook, to visit t tants of the Scottish capital; and the ardent thirst for excited among his countrymen having induced him to rem than he expected, she, with her mother, who was now a v last joined him at Edinburgh. In the following year they burgh for Geneva, upon his accepting an invitation give the English congregation of that city to become their pasting bidden adieu to their friends, "with no small dolor hearts and unto many of us," says Knox, they set sail befor a vessel proceeding to Dieppe; while, after having again v taken farewell of the brethren in different places, he follow in the month of July that same year."

On the 13th of September, Mrs. Knox and her mother w with Knox, formally admitted members of the English con

¹ Knox's Works, vol. iii., p. 345. This letter is dated, "At Dieppe, the 1554; after I had visited Geneva and other parts, and returned to Dieppe estate of England and Scotland."

² M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i., p. 172,

^{3 &}quot;The particular time of Mr. Bowes's death 1 have not ascertained, but have been between 1554 and 1556."—M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol i., p. 282.
4 Ibid., vol. i., pp. 173, 187.—Knox's History, vol. i., p. 253.

at Geneva. While she was resident in that city her two sons were born. Nathaniel was born in May, 1557, and was baptized on the 23d; Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, being godfather. Eleazar was born in November, 1558, and was baptized on the 29th, Myles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter, being godfather.

When Knox, on the 7th of January, 1559, left Geneva for his native country, upon an invitation which he had received from the Scottish Protestant nobles, Mrs. Knox, with her two children and mother, in the meantime remained behind him, it being uncertain whether they could live with safety in Scotland. But in the summer of the same year, in compliance with the wishes expressed by him in letters to them, they left that city for Scotland. In June they were at Paris, and they made application to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador at the French court, through some of their Scottish friends, who were at that time in Paris, for a passport, permitting them to proceed through England. Throckmorton, besides granting this request, wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated 13th June, 1559, in which he endeavoured to allay her majesty's resentment against Knox, on account of his treatise against female government, and besought her, by the exercise of generosity towards his wife, to conciliate the good-will of a man who was the masterspirit of the ecclesiastical revolution then going on in Scotland, and who, from his great influence, had the power to do important service to her majesty.2

Having left France, Mrs. Knox, with her children and her mother, reached England in safety; and, after a short stay with her relatives, the proceeded on her journey to Scotland with her children, leaving her mother behind her. She was accompanied by Christopher Goodman, who had been Knox's colleague at Geneva, and who was afterwards successively minister of Ayr and St. Andrews; and she reached her husband on the 20th of September.³ It being her

¹ Ksox's Works, notes by editor, vol. i., pp. xvii, xviii.

See his letter in Forbes's Public Transactions in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i., pp. 12g, 130.
3 M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i., p. 282.

mother's intention soon to follow her, Knox, at her request, on the day after her arrival wrote a letter to Sir James Croft, asking permission for Mrs. Bowes to repair to Scotland, and explaining the motives which induced her to purpose residing in that country, if not permanently, at least for some time. "One thing," says he, must I suit of you, to wit, that either by yourself, or else by Sir Ralph Sadler, to whom I could not write, because no acquaintance hath been betwixt us, you would procure a license for my mother, Elizabeth Bowes, to visit me, and to remain with me for a season; the comfort of her conscience, which cannot be quiet without God's Word truly preached, and his sacraments rightly ministered, is the cause of her request, and of my care. . . . From St. Andrews, the 21st of September, 1559." Having obtained letters of license about the month of October,2 Mrs. Bowes left her friends in England, and joined her daughter in Scotland, where she remained until her death.

Mrs. Knox did not live long subsequently to her return to Scotland, having died in the close of the year 1560, shortly after Knox was settled as minister of Edinburgh, and had obtained a comfortable establishment for her and her children. On her death-bed, sensible of her approaching dissolution, she was resigned and peaceful, supported by the hope of a better world; and to her two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, she left this benediction, "that God, for his Son Christ Jesus' sake, would of his mercy make them his true fearers, and as upright worshippers of him as any that ever sprang out of Abraham's loins;" to which her husband responded in the affirmative with all his heart.

She was probably buried in St. Giles's church-yard, in the grave afterwards occupied by Knox himself, which, according to tradition, is the spot in the Parliament Square where the statue of Charles II. now stands.

The loss of this excellent woman was a severe affliction to Knox,

¹ Sadler's State Papers, vol. i., p. 456.

³ M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii., p. 415.

⁹ Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 17, 47.

and he endeavoured to mitigate his anguish by an assiduous attention to his duties. In his history only an incidental allusion to this bereavement, and to the wound which it inflicted on his heart, occurs, when he says that "he was in no small grief by reason of the late death of his dear bedfellow, Marjory Bowes."1 She was much respected and beloved by all who new her abroad; and Calvin, on hearing of her death, wrote to Knox a letter, dated Geneva, April 23, 1561, in which expressions of much esteem for the departed are mingled with expressions of cordial sympathy with him in his loss and grief. "Your widowhood," says he, "as it ought, is sad and distressing to me. You had obtained a wife whose equal is not everywhere to be found. But as you have been well taught whence consolation under sorrow is to be derived, I doubt not that you patiently bear this affliction." And in a letter to Christopher Goodman, of the same date, he says, "I am not a little sorry that our brother Knox has been deprived of his most amiable wife."2 Time, while it gradually lightened, and ultimately removed the pressure of this affliction, never extinguished in Knox's mind the remembrance of the dear departed, who had shared the hardships of his exile. He fondly recalled her memory in his closing days, delighting to retrace the first affections of his heart; and it is observable that in speaking of her in his last will, his language is more tender and endearing than when he speaks of his second wife, who was then alive, though he sincerely loved her, as she was in every respect worthy of his affection. In this document, executed on the 13th of May, 1572, not quite six months before his death, when leaving various legacies to his two sons by his first wife, he says, "To my two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar Knox, I unfeignedly leave the same benediction that their dearest mother, Marjory Bowes, left unto them. Further, I have delivered by Master Randolph to Mr. Robert Bowes, sheriff of the bishopric, and brother to the said Marjory, my umquhile' dearest spouse, the sum of five hundred pounds of Scots money, to

1 Calvini Opera, tom. ix., p. 150.

² Knox's History, vol. ii., p. 138.

¹ i.e., late, deceased.

the utility and profit of my said two sons; the which money is that part of substance that fell or pertained to them by the decease of Marjory Bowes, their mother, of blessed memory."

Mrs. Knox appears never to have had more children than her two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar. In 1566 they were sent by their father to England, to reside with their relations. They received their education at St. John's College, in the university of Cambridge, their names being enrolled in the matriculation book only eight days after their father's death. Nathaniel, the eldest, after obtaining the degrees of bachelor and master of arts, and being admitted fellow on the college, died in 1580. Eleazar, the youngest, in addition to the honours attained by his brother, was created bachelor of divinity ordained one of the preachers of the university, and admitted to the vicarage of Clacton-Magna. He died in 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St. John's College.²

Mrs. Bowes survived her daughter, Mrs. Knox, several year. This appears from an advertisement prefixed to one of Knox's letter to her, published in 1572, in his vindication of the reformed religion in answer to a letter written by Tyrie, a Scottish Jesuit. In the advertisement he informs us that Mrs. Bowes had lately departed this life, and that he had published that letter to let the world know the intimate Christian friendship which had so long subsisted between them. She was probably interred in the same grave with her daughter.



¹ M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii., p. 415.

² Ibid., vol. ii., pp. 147, 268.

¹ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 208.



Remains of the Castle of Kinyeancleuch

ELIZABETH CAMPBELL,

WIFE OF ROBERT CAMPBELL OF KINYEANCLEUCH.

LIZABETH CAMPBELL was probably, as Robertson, in his Ayrshire Families, conjectures, the daughter of John Campbell, of Cesnock, the second representative of the Campbells of Cesnock, by his wife Janet, third daughter of Sir Hugh Campbell, of Loudoun,

the eighth representative of the Campbells of Loudoun, to whom, as stated by Crawford in his *Peerage*, he was married in 1533. She was thus descended from the Loudoun Campbell family, and on the inther's side from a distinguished branch of it which had early connected itself with the Lollards of Kyle. Her ancestors, John Campbell, of Cesnock, and his lady, Janet Montgomery, to whose attachment to Wickliffe's doctrines we have already adverted, were apparently her grandfather and grandmother.

Robert Campbell, of Kinyeancleuch, to whom this lady was mar-¹ Vol iii., Supplement.

² P. 284.

³ See p. 519. ried, was the son of Hugh Campbell, of Kinyeancleuch, who was the first of that family, and a younger son of Sir George Campbell, of Loudoun, the sixth in the genealogy of that house. Thus both of them were cadets of the ancient family of Loudoun, which held the office of sheriff of Ayr so early as the 13th century, and which was afterwards elevated to the peerage of Loudoun. This is noted by Mr. John Davidson, in his poem commemorative of their life and death, a work from which we derive the most of our materials for the present sketch.¹

"But to be plainer is no skaith,
Of surname they were Campbells baith:
Of ancient blood of this cuntrie,
They were baith of genealogie:
He of the shiress house of Air,
Long noble, famous, and preclair:
Sho of a gude and godly stok,
Came of the old house of Cesnok."

His father, Hugh, like her ancestors, had ardently embraced the reformed doctrines, and hospitably entertained at his residence at Kinyeancleuch, and given all the encouragement in his power, to the fervid and apostolic George Wishart when in Ayrshire.³ Robert, following in his father's footsteps, maintained the reformed principles from an early period of life with uncommon zeal and activity, and from his sincere piety, from the soundness of his understanding, the disinterestedness of his spirit, the decision of his character, and the consistent part which he uniformly acted, he acquired much personal influence, and proved of great service to the reformed cause. He was the intimate friend of John Knox, Regent Murray, and the

¹ It is entitled, "A Memorial of the Life and Death of two Worthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his wife, Elizabeth Campbel. In English meter. Edinburgh: printed by Robert Walde-graue, printer to the king's majestic, 1595. Cum Privilegio Regati." It was written by Davidson in 1574, but not published till 1595. So rare did that, the only edition, become, that only one copy of it was known to exist, when, in 1829, it was reprinted at Edinburgh among "The Poetical remains of Mr. John Davidson, Regent in St. Leonard's College, and afterwards minister of Salt Preston."

² Calderwood's History, vol. i., p. 188.

Reformers of his day, who greatly valued his counsel, and with entire confidence in his integrity. In the beginning year 1556 he conveyed Knox to Kyle, where the Reformer d in the castle of Kinyeancleuch, which stood on the margin igh, or deep ravine, near the confluence of a small streamlet e water of Ayr, about a mile southward from the town of ine, and in the houses of other gentlemen in those parts who to the Reformation, dispensing in some of them the sacrathe Lord's Supper. He then accompanied Knox to Castle ell, the seat of the Earl of Argyle, in the parish of Dollar annanshire, where the Reformer preached for some days.2 he attended Knox on the occasion of the famous disputation the Reformer and Quintin Kennedy, of Maybole. The traditions relate that on the resignation of Mary Queen of e was chosen by the burghs to represent them at the coronaher son, James VI., and that in that character he had the of handing the crown to Knox, who placed it on the head of Protestant king of Scotland, at Stirling, on the 29th of July, He visited Knox on his death-bed, 24th November, 1572, Reformer left to him the care of his wife and children.4 ated in the same religious principles, nearly of the same age, sessing much similarity of character, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell odels of conjugal affection, and their household a model of a gulated Christian family.

> "Sic twa I knowe not where to finde, In all Scotland left them behinde:

ancient castle is now in ruins. The scenery around it is at once wild, picand beautiful in the extreme."—Robertson's Ayrshire Families, vol. iii., Supp. 85.

^{&#}x27;s History, vol. i., pp. 250, 253.

e, and many other circumstances highly honourable to his character, were, it scorded among the family papers; but the most of these documents were bardestroyed by Claverhouse and his troopers, in 1684, when they plundered as and the eastle of Kinyeancleuch.—Robertson's Ayrshire Families, vol. iii., ent.

erwood's History, vol. iii., p. 237.

Of sa great faith and charitie, With mutuall loue and amitie: That I wat an mair heauenly life Was neuer between man and wife: As all that kend them can declair, Within the shiresdome of Air." 1

At the time of their union the Protestant religion was but in its infancy, and from the tyranny of the government and priesthood, it was perilous for Protestants openly to profess the truth. In these circumstances the reformed ministers resorted to the house of this excellent pair, where they privately preached the new doctrines, and were hospitably entertained. By these meetings for prayer and the exposition of the Scriptures, such as attended them were greatly confirmed in their attachment to the reformed faith, and the way was prepared for its ultimate triumph in Scotland.

Mrs. Campbell was a diligent student of the Scriptures, and few women of her time surpassed or equalled her in the knowledge of them. Endowed with a retentive memory, a sound judgment, and readiness of utterance, she expressed herself with great propriety on religious questions, much to the edification and comfort of others, and her whole deportment did honour to the religion which she professed. These, and other good qualities by which she was distinguished, Davidson thus celebrates:—

"And as for her the trueth to tell,
Among women she bure the bell:
During her daies in her degrie,
In godliness and honestie:
Of judgement rypest in God's law,
Of any woman that I knaw:
In God's buke she was so verseit,
That scarce wald men trow to rehearse it:
Of so excellent memorie,
And als of sic dexteritie,
God's Word to vee to her comfort,
And theirs who did to her resort,
That her to heare it was delyte,
In Scriptures she was so perfyte:

1 Davidson's Poem.

Quhilk was not words and babling vaine,
Bot words with knawledge joyned certaine:
Quhilk in her life she did expresse,
By doing as she did professe:
All God's true seruants far and neir,
She did esteim as freinds most deir:
And neuer loued societie,
With any godlesse companie:
Baith wise and provident was sho
In houshold things she had ado:
Quhat should I say, this woman od,
Was his great comfort vnder God:
And doubtles was of God a blessing,
Of speciall gifts after his wishing."

he was eminent, too, for her disinterestedness in supporting the rmed cause. After describing the self-denied exertions of Mr. apbell, who rode early and late through all parts of the country, the and south, east and west, through Angus, Fife, Lothian, and yle, to stimulate the zeal of such as favoured and supported "the rty of Christ's kirk and the gospel," Davidson eulogizes Mrs. apbell for having encouraged his pious and patriotic zeal, instead grudging the time and money thus expended, and giving him the practious reception at his home-coming, which some wives would be done, even though they had not been of the race of the Norwen Amazons, who, the poet tells us, had, by the agency of the Evil 16, found their way into Scotland.

"Bot yet or I passe further mair,
I man speak something of his wife,
Quha neuer made barrat nor strife:
Nor this his doing did disdaine,
Was neuer man heard her complaine,
As many wiues in the cuntrie,
I trow had luked angerlie
On her gude-man, who at all tyde
Was ay so reddy for to ryde:
For so oft ryding could not misse,
Bot to procure great expensis:
He might look as they tell the tale,
When he came hame for entill cooled kail:

Ze haue so meikle gear to spend, Ze trow neuer it will have end; This will make you full bare there ben, Lat see (says she) what other men, So oft ryding a field ye finde, Leauing thair owne labour behinde: This and farre mare had oft bene told, Be many wives, yea that we hold Not of the worst in all the land. I speak not of that baleful band, That Sathan hes sent heir away, With the black fleete of Norroway. Of whom ane with her tyger's tong, Had able met him with a rong, And reaked him a rebegeastor, Calling him many warlds weastor; Bot latting their euil wives alane, This gude wife murmuring made nane, Bot ay maist gladly did consent, To that wherewith he was content; Rejoysing that he had sic hart, For Christis kirk to take that part."

Mrs. Campbell, in like manner, co-operated with her husband is lenient and generous treatment of their tenants. They were exercised to counsel them in difficulty and to comfort them in distributed the took payment of their rents as they were able to make it, a never pressed them to the uttermost, nor "set their rooms over theads," "nor made them poor with great grassums." Sloth, impirand wickedness, were the only causes on account of which he was warn any of them to remove, the 101st Psalm being his rule in management of his estate as well as of his family; and, as David testifies—

"His wife also was of his minde,
Though many be not of her kinde:
Bot on their husbands daylie harp,
That to their tennants they be sharp:
Thinking their state can na wayes lest,
Except their pure-anes be opprest."

Like Mr. Campbell, she was also noted for her liberality in reliing the wants of the poor. Many of this class obtained lodge nightly at the castle of Kinyeancleuch, and she treated them with kindness and compassion. Nor were their religious interests neglected. After supper they were brought into the hall and examined on the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which had the good effect of stimulating the ignorant to diligence in acquiring some measure of Christian knowledge, that, on returning to Kinyeancleuch, they might be able, by their answers to the questions put to them, to please the laird and his lady.

Among those of the reformed who shared in Mr. and Mrs. Campbell's kindness and hospitality at their house at Kinyeancleuch, was Mr. John Davidson, then regent of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, afterwards minister of Prestonpans. What brought him to their residence was the trouble in which he was involved on account of a poem of his composition, which was printed without his knowledge, entitled, Ane Dialog, or Mutuall Talking, betwix a Clerk and ane Courseour, concerning four Parishe Kirks till ane Minister, in which he exposed the avaricious policy of Regent Morton, who, with the view of seizing upon a large portion of the revenues of the church, obtained, in 1573, an order of the privy council for uniting two, three, or even four parishes, and placing them under the care of one minister. For this offence he was summoned before a justice-air at Haddington, and a sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him. He was, however, liberated on bail. By the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in March, 1573-4,1 he was tried for this performance; but afraid of offending the regent, the Assembly, though of the same sentiments with Davidson, would neither approve nor condemn it. Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, who was at the Assembly, being dissatisfied with the timid temporizing conduct of the supreme ecclesiastical court in shrinking from their duty, took Davidson along with him to Kinyeancleuch, where, being introduced to Mrs. Campbell, he found her a person of not less intelligence, devotion, and public spirit, than her husband. "Such a good example of piety and holy

I The poem was printed in the January preceding.

exercise," says he, "I saw in that family, that methought all my lifetime before but a profane passing of the time." 1

Campbell was seized with fever at Rusco. He had accompanied, by special request, Sir Hugh Campbell, of Loudoun, the young sheriff of Ayr, on a journey to his father-in-law, Sir John Gordon, of Lochinvar.² In this journey, having come to Rusco, where they staid with Lochinvar all night, Campbell on the following morning complained, after prayers were ended, of pain in the head, and was forced to return to bed. His illness turned out to be fever. Lochinvar and his lady paid him every attention, frequently visiting him, and commanding everything to be brought to him which he needed. The sheriff was much distressed at the illness of his friend, and

"The shireff's wife with hart full sare Him visited also late and are."

Believing that his end was approaching, Campbell desired Davidson, who had accompanied him in this journey, and who since his illness had read to him, at his request, passages from the Scriptures, particularly the Psalms of David, to go to Kinyeancleuch, to Mrs. Campbell, on a twofold errand, first, to obtain from her for himself what was requisite in order to his safe and comfortable escape into England, from the vengeance of Regent Morton; and, secondly, to convey to her intelligence of her husband's sickness, that, after having despatched her business, she might come to him. "Brother," said Campbell to him, in reference to the first of these objects, "I see I must depart out of this life, which time I have long looked for. Therefore ye shall go with expedition to my wife, and cause her furnish you, and send some to convoy you a gateward to England, where ye shall address yourself to Mr. Goodman, and he will find you a convoy to

¹ Calderwood's History, vol. iii., p. 312.

² Sir Hugh was married to Lochinvar's daughter, Margaret, in 1572. Like his father. Sir Matthew, he was a promoter of the Reformation.—Robertson's Ayrshire Families, vol. ii., p. 209.

² Mr. Christopher Goodman, formerly successively minister of Ayr and St. andrews, had returned to England, his native country, in 1565, where he remained till his death, which took place at Chester, in 1601.

elle. Take my best horse with you, and ride your way with my ng." Having taken farewell of his friend, Davidson, on the of April, proceeded to Kinyeancleuch, where he arrived on ame day, and communicated the tidings with which he was sted. Mrs. Campbell would gladly have done everything in ower to assist him on his way to England, but he was dissuaded me of his friends from fleeing in the meantime, lest his brethren d be discouraged. On the following day she hurried off on back for Rusco, and

"She raid that wilsome wearie way, Neir fourtie myles on Law Sunday;"

ourney being rendered still more arduous from the badness of coads. After her arrival she did all that the assiduous and ionate ministry of woman could do to mitigate Mr. Campbell's rings; and though death was to all appearance near, it was orting to her to hear him expressing his confidence of victory, his desire to depart and to be with Christ. She had been with only three days when death terminated his earthly course. He in the prime of life, not having completed the forty-third year is age; and his corpse being brought from Galloway by an aurable attendance, it was interred in the church-yard of Mauchon the 24th of April.¹

rs. Campbell did not survive him two months. A few weeks his death she went to Ayr, to reside for some time with his hesteemed and pious relative, James Bannatyne,

"Thinking to live most quietly,
Among that godly company:
For the hale race of all that hous,
Of Kinyeancleuch are right zealous:
And of lang tyme hes sa bene kend,
The Lord assist them to the end:
For Robert and this James of Air,
Sister and brother barnis were:
And sa nane meeter she could finde,
For to remaine withall behinde."

¹ Davidson's Poem.

But her appointed time on earth was also now nearly completed. She had not been long under her friend's roof when she was taken ill of a fever, and she obtained the desire which she had heartily expressed—to follow her husband if it was the will of God—having died, after a short illness, about the middle of June, also in the prime of life, being only about forty years of age. She was buried in the church-vard of Mauchline, close by Mr. Campbell.

Having recorded the death and burial of both of them, Davidson, in summing up their character, says—

> "Lang may ye seek to finde sic tway, As God there nowe hes tane away."

And after expressing his doubts whether a man and woman of "such rare and heavenly qualities" were left behind in Scotland, he adds that their "away-taking"

> "Should make vs clearlie vnderstand, That God's just judgements are at hand, To punish the rebellion, Of this maist stubborne nation: Who to God's will dois not attend, For no punition he dois send: For we may easilie considder, The way taking of thir together, Of so excellent behaveours, And that almost bot in their flowers,-For nane of them was past throughlie, The age of fourtie yeares and thrie,-Is not for nought what euer it be, That is to followe hastelie: For why sic as the Lord God loues, Before the plague he oft remoues: According as the Scripture sayes, Quhilk shortned good Josias' dayes."

Mrs. Campbell had by her husband a son and a daughter, Nathaniel and Elizabeth. Nathaniel having died young and without issue, before his parents' death, Elizabeth inherited her father's estate. She was married about the year 1574, to Robert Camp-

¹ This is evident from the Commissary Records of Edinburgh, MS. in her majesty's

ousin-german, the son of Hugh, the younger brother of who had obtained the lands of Mongarswood, in Kyle, able and pleasant property, situated about half-way auchline and Sorn, by marriage with a daughter of apbell, of Brownside, and who thus became the founder of of Mongarswood. Upon marrying her he renounced his is paternal estate, carrying on the line of the Kinyeanily; and Mongarswood fell into the hands of his next rother, who carried on the line of the Mongarswood Davidson, on publishing his poem commemorative of her orth, from which we have so largely quoted, dedicated it who appears to have inherited her parents' spirit. In ion he says :- "Finding this little treatise (sister, dearly Christ) of late years amongst my other papers, which I twenty years and one ago, immediately after the death y parents of good memory, with whom I was most dearly in Christ, by reason of the trouble I suffered in those e good cause, wherein God made them chief comforters I death separated us. As I viewed it over, and read it godly persons of late, they were most instant with would suffer it to come to light to the stirring up of the 's people amongst us, which now beginneth almost to d in all estates, none excepted. To their ength I yielded, although long unwilling, in respect of s of the form of writing, which yet, at the time of the eof, I thought most familiar, according to the old mancountry, to move our people to follow the example of persons according to their calling and estate. And so it in good hope that it would profit, I was contented it

r House, from which we learn that "the testament dative and inven-, gear, and sums of money, and debts pertaining to" her father, were e and given up" by her, "their daughter and executrix," as the "demmissary of Edinburgh, of the date the 25th April, the year 1585, at

Ayrshire Families, vol. iii., Supplement, pp. 79, 80.

should be after this manner published. The sayi of Gregory Nazianzen, writing of Basil the Great after his did not a little encourage me, it being by God's providence hands when I was about to write this, the sense whereof foll. It is a thing of most dutiful affection to commend the mer holy persons that are departed, especially of such as have I most excellent virtues, whether it be by friends or strang have directed it unto you, dear sister, by name, that ye may your profit of it in particular, for confirming you by the example of your parents, in these evil and declining days, godly course of Christianity, wherein it hath pleased God to you succeed unto them, no less than to the worldly heritage ceeding rightly from them to you, after the death of their of Nathaniel, your brother. . . . From Edinburgh, the May, 1595. Your assured friend in Christ, "J.

This lady lived to an advanced age, having died in 1627, be inferred from her son, John Campbell's being returned her the lands of Kinyeancleuch, on the 20th of October that year. lands remained in the family till towards the close of the 18 tury, when they were sold to Claud Alexander, Esq., of Ballo

1 Inquisitionum Retornatarum Abbreviatio, vol. i., Ayr, No. 249.





ELIZABETH KNOX.

WIFE OF JOHN WELSH.

LIZABETH KNOX was the youngest daughter of the celebrated John Knox, by his second wife, Margaret Stewart, youngest daughter of Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, a nobleman who, under all circumstances, had proved Knox's faithful and constant friend.

The marriage between Knox and this lady was contracted in March, 1564. Popish writers, unable to dissemble their malice and envy, that the man who had overthrown the Papacy in Scotland had succeeded in forming a matrimonial alliance with one of the noble houses of his country, and a house, too, allied to the royal family, represent him as actuated by the ambition of raising his family to the Scottish throne; and they attribute his success in gaining the affections of the young lady to sorcery, and the assistance of no less a personage than the devil. "To the end that his seed, being of the blood-royal, and guided by their father's spirit, might have aspired to the crown, . . . he did pursue to have alliance with the honourable house of Ochiltree of the king's majesty's own blood. Riding there with a great court, on a trim gelding, not like a prophet or an old decrepit priest, as he was, but like as he had been one of the blood-royal, with his bands of taffeta fastened with gold rings and precious stones: And as is plainly reported in the

country, by sorcery and witchcraft did so allure that poor woman, that she could not live without him; which appear great probability, she being a damsel of noble blood, and l decrepit creature of most base degree of any that could be the country: So that such a noble house could not have des so far, except John Knox had interposed the power of hi the devil; who, as he transfigures himself sometimes in of light, so he caused John Knox appear one of the mo and lusty men that could be found in the world."1 better authority for affirming that Knox rather owed this able matrimonial alliance to the high reputation he had acc a man of Christian worth and ability, and as the reformer land.2 Another Popish writer, equally veracious, informs the young lady, soon after the nuptials, observing Knox devil engaged in earnest conversation, was thrown into suthat she immediately fell sick and died. " For as the com constant bruit of the people reported, as writeth Reginal others, it chanced, not long after the marriage, that she lyin bed, and perceiving a black, ugly, ill-favoured man, busily with him in the same chamber, was suddenly amazed, that sickness and died; as she revealed to two of her friend ladies, come thither to visit her a little before her decease. is unfortunate," remarks Dr. M'Crie, " for the credit of the information,' that the Reformer's wife not only lived to I several children, but survived him many years." Notwith their disparity of years, she lived very happily with Knox death, cheerfully bearing her share in the trials of his life, a istering to his comfort with affectionate assiduity.

Her children by Knox were three daughters, Martha, M and Elizabeth. Martha, the eldest, was married to Mr

¹ Nicol Burne's Disputation, pp. 143, 144, quoted in M'Crie's Life of Kap. 329.

² See Ladies of the Covenant, p. xvii.

³ Father A. Baillie's True Information, p. 41, quoted in M'Crie's Life vol. ii., p. 330.

g, minister of Bathans, now called Yester, in the Presbytery Idington, East Lothian. Margaret was married to Zachary minister of Bower, in Caithness, and son of the celebrated Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh. And Elizahe youngest, the subject of this notice, became the wife of nous John Welsh, minister of Ayr.

abeth was probably born about the year 1568 or 1569. At ther's death, which took place on the 24th of November, he would be only about three or four years old, and therefore age too tender to have derived much advantage from his tions. After her mother's marriage, secondly to Sir Andrew adounside, in the parish of Selkirk, a zealous Reformer, which ace before the 25th of May, 1574,3 she probably resided for st part at Fadounside, and received such education as it was ary for ladies in her rank to receive at that time in Scotland. first acquaintanceship with John Welsh is not recorded. It obably after his settlement as minister of Selkirk, which took pefore March 3, 1589, when he had an opportunity of fremeeting with her in his intercourse with the family of Sir w Ker, who probably attended his ministry. A mutual affecrung up between him and her, which ultimately issued in appy wedlock. The precise date of their union is uncertain. year 1594 Welsh was translated from Selkirk to Kirkcudbut whether their marriage was solemnized while he was ent of the former place, or after his removal to the latter, we hout the means of determining. It is, however, certain that

Robert Fleming, author of the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, was a son of this but by a second marriage.—Steven's Hist. of the Scottish Church at Rotter-

rie's Life of Knoz, vol. ii., p. 356.

ne's Life of Knox, vol. ii., p. 353. One of her children by this second mar-Mr. John Ker, who succeeded Mr. John Davidson, who died in 1604, as of Prestonpans. He was the father of Mr. Andrew Ker, who became clerk to ral Assembly upon the resignation of Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, and to fill this office till the restoration.—Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, printed and Club, p. 89.

they were married before the 8th of April, 1596. In 1600 Welsh was translated to Ayr.

If, during the first years of her wedded life, Mrs. Welsh's days were not altogether unclouded, she met with nothing peculiarly trying. But when James VI., upon his accession to the throne of England, in pursuance of his resolution to bring the Church of Scotland into conformity with the Church of England in its government and discipline, first endeavoured to destroy the freedom of the General Assembly, the most formidable barrier, from its popular constitution, to the consummation of his purpose, this subjected her to a series of afflictions, first in Scotland and afterwards in exile, on account of her husband's fidelity in maintaining the liberties of the Scottish Church.

To accomplish his object James dissolved and prorogued the meetings of the Assembly, threatened and bribed its members, and had recourse to all the arts of kingcraft, of which he thought himself a perfect master. Mr. Welsh resisted these proceedings, and, in consequence, incurred the royal displeasure. In July, 1505, a general assembly, which had been legally appointed, having been kept at Aberdeen by several ministers of the church, contrary to the expressed wishes of the monarch, who was afraid of their passing some acts against the bishops, Mr. Welsh, who had been appointed a member of that assembly, but at which he was not present, it having been abruptly dissolved before his arrival in Aberdeen, was, on the 26th July, brought before the privy council at Edinburgh, where he then was; and refusing to answer the questions put to him, he was committed prisoner to the Tolbooth, and on the same day was trans-

³ For this and the two first dates in this paragraph, the author is indebted to his friend, the Rev. James Young, Edinburgh, who is about to publish a very interesting Life of Welsh.

¹ This appears from the following extract from Particular Register of Inhibitions, vol. v. "11 Feb., 1602. Said Mr. Zach. Pont and spouse inhibited by Mr. Johne Velsche, minister of Godis word at our bust of Kirckcudbryt, and Elizabeth Knox his spous." Pont owes complainers 1000^m, as per contract between parties at Schyrismylne, 8th April, 1596.—M'Crie's Life of Knoz, vol. ii., p. 356.

ported by the guard to Blackness Castle. In January, 1506, he and five other ministers who had kept the assembly, were brought to trial before the court of justiciary, held in the palace of Linlithgow, under a charge of high treason.



Linlithgow Palace-the Quadrangle

On this occasion Mrs. Welsh, leaving her children at Ayr, set out for Linlithgow in the depth of winter, and through roads almost impassable. The wives of the other ministers also came to that town. Neither she nor these other ladies were present in the court on the day of trial; but all of them were anxiously waiting the issue, which did not take place till eleven o'clock at night. On hearing that the prisoners had been found guilty of high treason, a crime inferring the punishment of death, by the verdict of the majority of a packed and overawed jury, instead of lamenting their condition, they rejoiced, and thanked the Lord Jesus that their husbands had received strength and courage to stand to their Master's cause, saying that, like him, they had been tried and condemned

¹ Forbes's Records, Wod. Soc. pub., pp. 403, 404, 406.

under covert of night.¹. The ministers at their trial had declared before the judges and jury, "As for the matter whereof we are to be accused, and ye are to be our judges this day, we are fully resolved of it that it is the undoubted truth of God, and belongs essentially to Christ's crown and kingdom; . . . and through the Lord's grace we are resolved to seal it up with the testimony of our blood, if it shall please him to call us thereto." And these intrepid women were prepared to see those dearest to them suffer death rather than desert what they believed to be the cause of Christ, and to be left, with their fatherless children, destitute upon the world. Thus it is that persecution calls forth the noblest sentiments, and inspires for the noblest deeds of heroic self-sacrifice. But the tyranny which calls them forth is thereby rendered only the more hateful, and the tyrant only the more overwhelmingly exposed to the execration of man and the retribution of heaven.

"Power to the oppressors of the world is given,
A might of which they dream not. Oh! the curse
To be the awakener of divinest thoughts,
Father and founder of exalted deeds." 3

The pronouncing of the sentence upon the condemned ministers was delayed till his majesty's pleasure should be known. The king at length resolved to banish them out of all his dominions for life, never again to return without license, under pain of death and all the penalties due to convicted traitors. The sentence was formally pronounced upon them on the 23d of October, a month being allowed them to prepare for their departure; and on the 7th of November they embarked at Leith for France.

Mrs. Welsh accompanied her husband and the other banished ministers to the pier of Leith, and joined in the solemn religious exercises engaged in before their embarkation. Having taken farewell of him—for she did not intend to follow him for a few months—she returned to her children at Ayr, with conflicting

¹ Row's History, Wod. Soc. edition, p. 240.

³ Wordsworth.

Forbes's Records, p. 486.

Melville's Diary, p. 669.

ions of joy and sorrow; of joy, at the constancy and courage in ause of Christ she had witnessed; of sorrow, at the thought of driven from the land of her birth, destitute and unprotected, land of strangers. On his arrival in France Welsh remained ome time at Rochelle; he then removed to Bordeaux, and ately became minister of Jonsack, in Angoumois. In the folgyear Mrs. Welsh joined him, as we learn from his letters to rt Boyd, of Trochrig, who was then minister and professor of ogy in the college of Saumur. In one of these, dated Rochelle, h 16, 1607, he says—"I look for my wife with the first fair if it please God; pray for his blessing therein." In another, same friend, dated Bordeaux, June 26, 1607, he says—"My alutes you after the most hearty manner, and longs greatly to ou, and is greatly sorry that that occasion offers not." 2

Jonsack the circumstances of Mrs. Welsh and her family were uncomfortable, and their health far from good. They suffered from the rude and unfeeling character of the people, who, d of condoling with so illustrious exiles, who were expelled country for the testimony of Jesus, and showing how sincerely sympathized with them in their afflictions, were so destitute of entiments of justice and generosity, that they neither paid the stipend they promised him, nor evinced the smallest to promote the comfort of himself and of his family; and he besides, often treated with much disrespect and contumely we learn from various passages in his letters to Robert Boyd. etter to him, dated Jonsack, September 17, 1611, he saysther, trust me in one thing, day nor night I have no repose and think now the Lord is opening a door to me, for want ment; whereof I have made plaint both to the consistory and uy, who have granted me the liberty of the discipline, that hin three months they pay me not, that shall be in my liberty. er, I cannot show you the particulars of my grief here, unless

2 Ibid., p. 308.

¹ Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, printed for Maitland Club, p. 287.

under covert of night.¹ The ministers at their trial had declared before the judges and jury, "As for the matter whereof we are to be accused, and ye are to be our judges this day, we are fully resolved of it that it is the undoubted truth of God, and belongs essentially to Christ's crown and kingdom; . . . and through the Lord's grace we are resolved to seal it up with the testimony of our blood, if it shall please him to call us thereto." And these intrepid women were prepared to see those dearest to them suffer death rather than desert what they believed to be the cause of Christ, and to be left, with their fatherless children, destitute upon the world. Thus it is that persecution calls forth the noblest sentiments, and inspires for the noblest deeds of heroic self-sacrifice. But the tyranny which calls them forth is thereby rendered only the more hateful, and the tyrant only the more overwhelmingly exposed to the execration of man and the retribution of heaven.

"Power to the oppressors of the world is given,
A might of which they dream not. Oh! the curse
To be the awakener of divinest thoughts,
Father and founder of exalted deeds," 3

The pronouncing of the sentence upon the condemned ministers was delayed till his majesty's pleasure should be known. The king at length resolved to banish them out of all his dominions for life, never again to return without license, under pain of death and all the penalties due to convicted traitors. The sentence was formally pronounced upon them on the 23d of October, a month being allowed them to prepare for their departure; and on the 7th of November they embarked at Leith for France.

Mrs. Welsh accompanied her husband and the other banished ministers to the pier of Leith, and joined in the solemn religious exercises engaged in before their embarkation. Having taken farewell of him—for she did not intend to follow him for a few months—she returned to her children at Ayr, with conflicting

¹ Row's History, Wod. Soc. edition, p. 240.

³ Wordsworth.

² Forbes's Records, p. 486.

^{*} Melville's Diary, p. 669.

but mourning. Let us have a room in your most ardent

Ish was much tried from her husband's ill health during period of his exile. He originally possessed an iron frame; nate of the parts of France where he settled did not agree nstitution, and what he had suffered before he left Scotimprisonment of about fifteen months in the dungeon of and in the castle of Edinburgh, rendered him a more easy e influence of an insalubrious atmosphere and uncomfortag. Having left Jonsack, he became minister of St. Jean town in Lower Charente, in France; but his constitution , and at last serious pulmonary symptoms began to make rance. After the reduction of St. Jean d'Angely, in 1621, III., war having broken out between that monarch and his subjects, Welsh sent a supplication from Zealand, whither loved, to James VI., praying that he might have liberty Scotland, his physicians having recommended his native only remedy offering the prospect of recovery.2 Permisbeen granted him to come to London, he and Mrs. Welsh heir journey for the English capital. On their arrival they ith their friends, and it was thought that the most likely seeding in their object, was for Mrs. Welsh personally to opeal to the compassion of the sovereign; and from the relatives on the mother's side, she obtained access to his the laid her case before him; but James, who regarded a something of the same antipathy felt by his mother hn Knox, would not allow him to return to Scotland onditions with which he could not conscientiously comarticulars of the interview have been preserved, and they ly characteristic both of Mrs. Welsh and of King James. her who was her father? "John Knox" was her reply. Welsh!" he exclaimed, pronouncing an oath, after his

drow's Life of Robert Boyd, printed for Maitland Club, p. 330. derwood's History, vol. vii., p. 511.

usual manner, "the devil never made such a match as that." right-like, sir," she returned, "for we never speired his ad He then asked her how many children her father had lef whether they were lads or lasses. "Three," she answered, they are all lasses."2 "God be thanked!" he profanely cried, ! up both his hands, "for an they had been three lads, I had bruiked3 my three kingdoms in peace." She again renewe suit that his majesty would be pleased to give her husban native air. "Give him his native air!" replied James, again ut an oath, "give him the devil." "Give that to your hungry cour she instantly retorted, in a tone of stern reprehension, little cerned, in her zeal against profanity, about provoking his v The utmost limits to which his condescension would go, was t mise to grant her request, provided she would persuade Mr. to submit to the bishops. This heroic woman, who, resemblir father, stood fast to her principles, like a pillar of brass, lifti her apron and holding it towards the king, replied, "Please majesty, I'd rather kep4 his head there."5 She withdrew fro presence, doubtless repeating in her own mind that inspired "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom is no help" (Psalm cxlvi. 3), and leaving James, if we may ve to guess his feelings, astonished at her boldness, her inflexib herence to her principles, and her uncommon readiness and sar power of reply.

Had this matron been the wife of a Popish ecclesiastic of Welsh's energy of character, she would probably have obtain she sought. Not that James had any love for Papists, but he gidreaded them. He knew that regicide, or the killing of her and excommunicated princes, was the doctrine, not only of Jesuits, but of all the Popish orders, and of almost all the Felergy, and the dread of the pistol or dagger of some fanatical F

¹ i.e., asked.

2 The other two, besides Mrs. Welsh, were and Margaret. See p. 564. Knox had two sons by his first wife, but they we dead by this time, and had died without issue. See p. 574.

i.e., enjoyed. 4 i.e., receive. 5 M'Crie's Life of Knoz, vol. ii., p.

MRS. WALSH'S INTERVIEW WITH KING JAMES.



3. COUNT



tinister of Bathans, now called Yester, in the Presbytery gton, East Lothian. Margaret was married to Zachary ster of Bower, in Caithness, and son of the celebrated it, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh. And Elizaroungest, the subject of this notice, became the wife of John Welsh, minister of Ayr.

was probably born about the year 1568 or 1569. At s death, which took place on the 24th of November, rould be only about three or four years old, and therefore too tender to have derived much advantage from his After her mother's marriage, secondly to Sir Andrew nside, in the parish of Selkirk, a zealous Reformer, which before the 25th of May, 1574,3 she probably resided for art at Fadounside, and received such education as it was for ladies in her rank to receive at that time in Scotland. acquaintanceship with John Welsh is not recorded. It ly after his settlement as minister of Selkirk, which took e March 3, 1589, when he had an opportunity of freeting with her in his intercourse with the family of Sir er, who probably attended his ministry. A mutual affecup between him and her, which ultimately issued in wedlock. The precise date of their union is uncertain. r 1594 Welsh was translated from Selkirk to Kirkeudwhether their marriage was solemnized while he was of the former place, or after his removal to the latter, we the means of determining. It is, however, certain that

t Fleming, author of the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, was a son of this by a second marriage.—Steven's Hist. of the Scottish Church at Rotter-

afe of Knox, vol. ii., p. 356.

ife of Knox, vol. ii., p. 353. One of her children by this second mar-John Ker, who succeeded Mr. John Davidson, who died in 1604, as estonpans. He was the father of Mr. Andrew Ker, who became clerk to seembly upon the resignation of Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, and Il this office till the restoration.—Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, printed llub, p. 89.

of God, Mr. John Welsh, above mentioned, a daughter ar worthy of such a father and husband. God bring us with a holy and happy end in his own time by the way he hath in his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."1

From Mrs. Welsh's last will and testament, subscribed 1 the 8th of January, 1625,2 we learn that she left behind her Josias and Nathaniel, and a daughter, Louise. She had daughter, her eldest, who, as we have seen before, died in If Louise is the daughter whose birth is referred to in he letter to Robert Boyd, dated Jonsack, May 20, 1613, "My w God, is safely delivered of a daughter," she would be at of her mother in the twelfth year of her age. Mrs. Welsh I birth to three sons. But the eldest, whose name is not gi studied medicine, and took his degree of M.D., had been acc killed in the Low Countries.4 Josias, the second, who much of his father's talents, energy of character, and p educated at Geneva, and on his return to Scotland was professor of Humanity in the university of Glasgow.5 introduction of Prelacy, being expelled from this situation, to Ireland, where he became minister at Templepatrick, as the distinguished founders of the Presbyterian Church is He died of consumption, in early life, on the 23d of June, 16 son John, minister of Irongray, in Galloway, is well known the most intrepid of the persecuted ministers during the Charles II. Nathaniel, Mrs. Welsh's third and youngest s wards perished at sea. The vessel in which he had embarks been shipwrecked, he swam to a rock, but was there starved and his body, when found upon the rock some time afterward the prayerful attitude of kneeling, with the hands stretched

1 Bannatyne's Miscellany, vol. i., p. 291.

² See this document in M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii., p. 417.

³ Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 326.

⁴ Kirkton's Life of Welsh.

⁵ Reid's Hist. of Presb. in Ireland, vol. i., p. 112.

⁶ Life of Robert Blair, Wodrow Society edition, p. 135.

⁷ Kirkton's Life of Welsh.

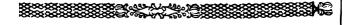


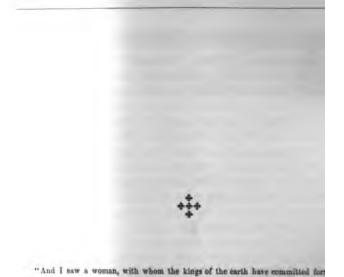
¥

Ladies of the Reformation

IN THE NETHERLANDS.







sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads horns. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the



INTRODUCTION.

NDER this division of our undertaking, the female supporters of the Reformation, as in Scotland, are with two exceptions, of an humbler order than those in England, and, it may be added, than those in Germany, France, and even Italy. The two excepare Charlotte de Bourbon and Louise de Colligny, successively of William, Prince of Orange, the celebrated founder of the conwealth of the United Provinces. These exceptions were es of France; but having become connected with the Netherby marriage, their subsequent history is involved in the history se provinces, and they may therefore properly enough take the and designation we have assigned them, though the circume that France, together with Germany, were the scenes of the of their early life, unavoidably breaks in upon unity of subject. leficiency of native female characters of peculiar mark in the century in the Netherlands, as in Scotland, may be attributed imperfection of female education in that country; but, unlike and, which suffered Popish persecution to a comparatively d extent, the Netherlands were doomed to endure it through a eries of years, in its utmost severity; and under it many Chrisemales displayed an exalted faith, and an intrepid courage, not

surpassed by the brightest names recorded in Christian martyrology.

To enable the reader the better to understand our notices of the female worthies in the Netherlands, and to sympathize with them, not only in their martyrdom, but in the trying circumstances under which they had embraced and maintained the truth before falling into the hands of their persecutors, it may be necessary to take a general view of the terrible ordeal through which the supporters of the Reformation had to pass in that country.

The Netherlands formed part of the hereditary dominions of Charles V., the government of which he assumed in 1515, when only fifteen years of age. Charles from the first took up an attitude hostile to the Reformation, and the doctrines of Luther having, in the early part of his reign, found their way from Germany into these provinces, where they threatened to spread rapidly, he immediately had recourse to violent measures against such as embraced them; and until he resigned his crown, he persecuted them with relentless unrelaxing severity. In 1521 was published the first placard which he issued against Luther's doctrine, books, and followers, in the Low Countries, dated 8th May. This was followed by numerous other placards, denouncing penalties of various sorts, from the more moderate to the most extreme; and all these edicts were executed with the utmost rigour. Strict searches were made in houses for prohibited books, and for suspected persons. The more surely to apprehend the reformed preachers, their portraits were drawn and set up at the gates of the cities and other public places, while liberal rewards were promised to such as arrested them, or gave such information as led to their arrest. Many sought safety in flight; and those seized were bound with cords, and hurried to prison. Multitudes, to compel them to discover their brethren in the faith, were put to the rack, under which, however, they generally displayed astonishing resolution, refusing to accuse any, though, when questioned concerning their faith, they freely answered. Multitudes were beheaded, burned, or first strangled and then burned, roasted before slow fires, drowned, live, massacred. Women, near the time of their confinere drowned or burned, and some of them, when just expire stake, were delivered of their offspring.

ed by these severe proceedings, some abjured the reformed ts. The penance imposed upon such was to walk in proefore the host, with lighted tapers in their hands, till they the Town House, where they were to throw their Lutheran to the fire; to wear a yellow cross upon their upper garot to stir out of the town within a year; and to attend all as with wax tapers in their hands.2 But the number of this small, compared with the hundreds and thousands who y maintained their principles to the death. The heroic faith artyrs, who on their way to execution sung psalms, and ig one another, called upon the name of Jesus with their ath, having produced a powerful impression upon the specciting sympathy and awakening to inquiry, which issued in results; to prevent this salutary public sympathy, as well pire others with the greater terror, the magistrates were d, according to their discretion, to execute-to behead, or put to the sword, obstinate heretics in private.

nabaptists, who were very numerous in the Netherlands, secuted with peculiar severity. Many edicts were published hem in particular; and the disturbances created in 1534 throughout Germany and in the Low Countries, by a new aing that name, who pretended to be stirred up by the God, as the peasants' war, the tumults at Munster, the riots rdam, and the insurrections in other places, in which this sect was concerned, gave a colour of justice to these severe file they greatly increased the prejudices entertained against body of the Anabaptists. But, though many simple well-

were very often buried alive or drowned, in which last case they were put and a large stone being tied to their necks or bodies, they were thrown into to lakes. This rule, however, was not uniform, for many of them were the men were generally beheaded or burned.

Hist, of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i, p. 60.

meaning people among the Anabaptists were at first drawn to join in communion with this sect, on account of its professing the same opinions about baptism and some other points, and were in consequence involved in great troubles, yet many of them had no connection with it, disavowed it, and entertained sentiments as to the use of the sword which must have led them to condemn the proceedings of these wild enthusiasts. The fury of the government was, however, extended against all the Anabaptists. In apprehending, condemning, and putting them to death, hardly any distinction was made between those who approved, or were guilty of the disorders now referred to, and the innocent and well-disposed. If a man or a woman had been rebaptized, for this alone they were put to death, the man being beheaded or burned, and the woman burned or buried alive.1 Hundreds and thousands of Anabaptists, both male and female, who had no concern in any outbreak against the state, who held no principles leading to insubordination or rebellion, whose lives were irreproachable, who were possessed of sincere and fervent piety, were, for their attachment to the doctrines of the gospel, as well as for their belief in their peculiar principles, subjected to the most excruciating tortures, and to the most agonizing of deaths.

During the course of his reign, Charles V. had sacrificed in the Netherlands, for their religious sentiments, about 100,000 of his subjects, who perished by the hands of the executioner; and yet after this great slaughter, the suppression of heresy in these provinces seemed as far distant and as difficult as ever.

When, in the month of October, 1555, Charles divested himself of his imperial and royal dignities, resigning the Low Countries, Spain, and the Indies, to his son Philip, but the imperial crown of Germany to his own brother Ferdinand, this brought no mitigation to the persecution of the Reformers in the Netherlands. While in the monastery of St. Justus, into which he entered on February 24, 1557, and where he purposed to spend the remainder of his days, he

¹ Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i., pp. 61-69.

² Grotius's Annal., lib. i., p. 12.

said, when, alas! too late, to have seen the folly of compulterference with mens' consciences in matters of religion. a mechanical genius, he sometimes amused himself in this by constructing works of mechanism, as clocks and watches; ing himself unable, by all his ingenuity, to bring any two of struments to go exactly alike, the thought struck him that it less impossible to make men think precisely in the same the profound and mysterious questions of religion, and he ot help feeling astonishment and regret that he should have ed so much effort, and shed so much blood, in the vain ato achieve a result so impracticable. But the just and toleatiments awakened by his clocks and watches, made no lasting ion on his mind. He had surrendered himself entirely into ds of his ghostly confessor, who, by the fears of purgatory, hopes of heaven, as by the wand of a conjurer, succeeded in them. Twelve days before his death he added a codicil to , in which he "begs and commands" his son to inflict signal ere punishment on heretics without exception, and without to the prayers or to the rank of the persons. "It is dangerys he, "to dispute with heretics. I always refused to argue em, and referred them to my theologians; alleging with truth n ignorance, for I had scarcely begun to read a grammar was called to the government of great nations."1 Thus does pervert the moral sense, and thus do men become hardened iliarity with cruelty. So far from expressing or feeling comon for the cruelties he had committed in the Netherlands, s, with his dying breath, recommends his son Philip to rehe same black, bloody, and revolting scenes.

a his severe, gloomy, bigoted temper,2 Philip was abundantly

ente, quoted by Sir James Mackintosh.—See also M'Crie's Reformation in p. 246-250.

ceply seated was his constitutional gloomy and stolid temper, that when his one occasion made his cutry into Antwerp, and was received with great red honour by the magistrates and all the people, Philip beheld it all unexcited, out once moving his bonnet, which so provoked the emperor that he publicly

disposed to act upon his father's dying advice in reference to religion. He issued new placards againt heresy in the Netherlands, renewing, confirming, and converting into perpetual edicts those of his father, and adopting more stringent measures for the discovery, punishment, and suppression of heretics. The more effectually to suppress them, he determined to establish the Spanish Inquisition, in its most horrible form, in that country. Into the details of the measures he adopted, and the cruelties he perpetrated, we cannot here enter. But he proved himself a greater persecutor than his father. When, in 1559, on his resolving to leave the Netherlands for Spain, among other reasons to check the growth of heresy which had taken root and was springing up in the Spanish soil, he committed the government of the Netherlands, during his absence, to his illegitimate sister, Margaret of Austria, wife of Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, he strictly charged her and the privy council to put in execution all the placards or decrees emitted both by his father and by himself. He also personally recommended to the great council, and to the states in Flanders, the extirpation of heresy; and he despatched letters to all the stadtholders and governors of provinces, commanding them not to admit any excuses tending to exempt men from the rigour of the placards, of which he had not constituted them judges in order to explain or moderate them, but punctually and literally to put them in execution; declaring farther, that coolness or remissness in this matter would expose them to suspicion, and render them liable to be proceeded

gave him a box on the ear, saying, "Did Vives * teach you these manners?" On this account he never gained the popularity of his father in the Netherlands. While be resided in that country, during the commencement of his government, "there appeared," says Maurier, "such a vast difference between the father and the son, that all the people, and particularly the nobility, conceived as much aversion and contempt for the one, as they had love and adoration for the other. The emperor was good-natured, easy of access, treated all sorts of nations familiarly, and talked to them in their own language, which won him an universal respect and veneration. King Philip rarely appeared in public, wore his clothes always in the Spanish fashion, talked little, and only Spanish, which procured him the general hatred of the nobility and the people of the Netherlands."—Lives of the Princes of Orange, p. 13.

¹ Le Clerc, Histoire des Provinces Unies, tom. i., p. 4.

^{*} Johannes Ludovicus Vives, a learned scholar of Erasmus', who had been Philip's preceptat

s he embarked for Spain he ordered the Prince of Orange, d appointed stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, ath certain honourable persons suspected of heresy, orders prince evaded by giving private warning to the parties. he often wrote to the governess, enjoining her to extirpate wing her how to discover heretics, and how to worry them vered; sending her lists of their names, with such inforcerning their residence, condition in life, age, personal and other circumstances as might assist in their detecprehension.1 And when the Count of Egmont, whom he ted stadtholder of Flanders and Artois, went to Spain as er from the council of state to represent to the king the affairs in the Netherlands, Philip's answer to him, which ed by the Spanish divines, was, "that he would rather ed thousand deaths than consent to the least change in at he by no means intended to suspend the prosecution which his duty to God and the commonwealth imperanded; that he would rather have a new and more adehment substituted for the old and usual method, so as the ially to curb their insolence, and pluck up the tares even s;" and he suggested to the count whether private execunot be preferable to public, as that would take away the heretics fancied themselves to acquire by dying publicly ligion. 2

ing their bloody sentences, the government met with a ncreasing opposition from the people, who openly exir sympathy for the sufferers, comforted them as they the and bound to the stake, joined them in singing psalms est pitch of their voices, and in such numbers as rendered apprehend them. At last the feelings of opposition beense that whole communities, rising in tumult, attempted *Bello Belgico, tom. i., lib. iv., pp. 102, 103. This historian states that

^{*} Bello Belgico, tom. i., lib. iv., pp. 102, 103. This historian states that possession more than a hundred of these letters, written either in Philip's a the hand of his secretary.

i., lib. iv., pp. 110-112.

in several places to force the condemned out of the hands of the executioner—in which they succeeded in various instances—broke open the prisons, and relieved such as were in confinement for religion. To avoid the concourse of the people and the danger of a tumult, some were executed early in the morning; and at length the inquistors, not daring any longer to bring forth heretics to public execution, despatched them privately, as the king had ordered, which they commonly did by binding their victim neck and heels, and then throwing him into a tub of water, where he was left to lie till he was dead. No sooner was it known that the martyrs were thus privately made away with in prisons, than increased endeavours were everywhere made to liberate the imprisoned.

Even many of the citizens, gentry, and nobility, who had no design of altering or renouncing the established Roman Catholic religion, abhorred the cruelties committed, trembled at the name of the inquisition, and strenuously opposed its introduction. "There can be no viler slavery," said some, "than to lead a trembling life in the midst of spies and informers, who register every word, action, look, and even every thought, which they pretend to read from the look, upon which they put the very worst construction." At the close of the year 1565 a number of the chief nobility entered into a confederacy for opposing the establishment of the inquisition and the placards relating thereto; and on the 3d of April the following year, 300 noblemen and gentlemen having assembled in the Hotel de Culemburg, at Brussels, proceeded to the palace, marching two by two, to present a petition to the governess, beseeching her to put a stop to these persecuting measures, which threatened to issue in riot, insurrection, bloodshed, and the ruin of their country. occasion the Count of Barlemont, it is related, seeing them coming in such numbers into court that the governess was alarmed, said to her, "Madam, why are you afraid of these Gueuses?" a French word, which signifies vagabonds or beggars.2 Hence the name

¹ Brandt's Hist. of Reformation, &c , vol. i., p. 165 Maurier says 400.

² According to others he exclaimed, "See what a brave company of Gueuses are

vas applied to them, just as the French Reformers obtained name of Huguenots. But the confederates, so far from feeling be a term of reproach, gloried in it as a badge of honour, It is no shame to be beggars for our country's good." At the toast by which they pledged mutual fidelity in the cause m was, " Vive les Gueux," "Live the Gueuses." They dressed es and their families in the beggars' costume of gray cloth. re medals upon their necks, made at first of wax and wood, ds of gold and silver, on one side of which was engraved the nage, on the other, two right hands joined together, holding them a beggar's wallet, with the following motto, in which, ruggling for liberty, they emphatically testified their loyalty sovereign, "Fideles au roi, jusques à la Besace," "Faithful to even to the wallet." Some fastened on their breasts, or hung eir caps, a small beggar's wooden dish or bowl, on which was 1 in silver " Vive le Gueux;" and the greatest lords embroitheir footmen's liveries dishes, bottles, and beggars' wal-

ne power and ruthlessness of the oppressor were too great for emonstrations in behalf of toleration and freedom to be suc-

To crush the spirit of reform and of liberty, Philip delinto the Netherlands Ferdinando Alvarez, Duke of Alva fter Philip's own heart, cruel, inexorable, and, from the time les V., accounted by the Netherlanders their implacable with an army consisting of between 8000 and 9000 foot, and rse, being the best of the Spanish and Italian soldiers, not mmitting to him the supreme command of the forces, but ng him to take cognizance of all causes in religion, and inhim with full power to pardon or to punish. The direction

Because he saw a great many in the company," says Maurier, " not so rich he told the governess, by way of contempt, that they were a troop of beggars, he ought to take no notice of, or have any regard to them."—Lives of the Orange, p. 17.

pp. 17, 18.—Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation, &c., vol. i, p. 167.—Strada, Belgico, tom. i, lib. v., p. 135.

retired to his estates in Germany, where he renou and made an open profession of the reformed fait following his example, fied, and Germany was filled From the terror inspired by his very name, A

opposition from the Dutch on the frontiers; and August, 1367, he arrived at Brussels with his tro first acts after his arrival was the erection of a tr of twelve persons, which he called "The Council but which from its cruelty, was styled by the Net Council of Blood." The members of this council and, with the exception of two, who were gentleme recommended neither by birth nor merit. At the plused John de Vargas, a Spaniard, who surpassed brutal cruelty, in the estimation of even his own were wont to say that the cankered wounds of the need of such a sharp knife (as Vargas was) to cut firsh ? and all its sentences were to be confirmed an From this court there was no appeal to a superior of any revision of causes. Being once established, a drawn to it, the ordinary courts being passed by; without delay to business by apprehending, bani and confisming the property of multitudes, of all conditions, not only of those concerned in the late

The select thresh his father William of Names had only

who had embraced the reformed religion, but of those who were guilty in neither of these respects, on some slender pretext, as, for example, their having been seen once or twice at a conventicle, to which they had been led from mere curiosity.

The numbers who consulted their safety by flight, carrying with them their goods, their skill, and enterprise to foreign lands, now daily increased. The duke had not been long in the country when those who had left it since his arrival, or shortly before, amounted to above 100,000, and many more were flying into exile every day.¹

The Duchess of Parma, who was dissatisfied from the first with the amount of power committed to Alva, finding herself less taken notice of than before, and foreseeing the troubles which these severities were likely to occasion, implored the king so earnestly to be released from the office of governess, that her resignation was at last accepted, and leaving the Netherlands she returned to Italy. Alva succeeded her as governor.

Philip was recommended by some of his councillors to exercise greater moderation towards his subjects in the Netherlands; but Varyas and his assessors strenuously opposed all such recommendations, and to enlist the avarice of the monarch on the side of severity, persuaded him that they had discovered a second Indies in the forfeiture of so many excellent estates. Independently of pecuniary considerations, Philip, as we have said before, was sufficiently disposed, from his natural cruelty and bigotry, to adopt the severest measures; and having consulted the Spanish Inquisition, he was confirmed in this course by that body, whose judgment, dated

Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation, &c., vol. i., p. 277. The greater portion of this aumerous body of fugitives "took refuge in England, and settled about the towns of Norwich, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Hampton, where, protected and permitted the free exercise of their religion by the wise policy of the queen, they established factories, and instructed the natives in the art of making baize, serge, and other articles of woollen manufacture."—Davies's History of Holland, vol. i., p. 567. The same author adds in a foot-note, "We are told by the Duke de Sully, that at the time of his visit to England (1603), two-thirds of the inhabitants of Canterbury were Netherland, refugees; a circumstance which, he says, accounted for the superior civilization and politeness he remarked in that city.—Tom. iv., lib. xiv., p. 217."

Ladies of the Reformation.

NETHERLANDS.

lifth February, 1568, was, that having seen the representatemorials, and answers which had been transmitted to his by the sub-inquisitors of the Low Countries, they were of that all the Netherlanders, excepting those whose names had ansmitted to them, should be declared heretical or abettors by and had been guilty of high treason either by commissions sines: and particularly such of the nobility as had presented ition against the inquisition. This terrible sentence, dooming antion to extermination, was confirmed at Madrid, on the the same mouth, by his majesty, who commanded that it be put in execution without respect of persons. In this rivalled the bloody Nero, who wished that all the people of night have but one head, which he might cut off at a single and established his claim to be classed with the greatest monhe have oppressed and desolated the world.

was the commission intrusted to Alva, and if he did not lin executing it to the letter, it proceeded neither from want goods, there was no end." By the council of blood it was accounted of no moment whether the evidence against the pannel was adequate or not. He was condemned to the flames, to the gallows, or to the sword, though nothing like proof of having violated the laws had been established against him. One of the members of the council, James Hessels, a Fleming, was wont to sleep at the trial of the prisoners, especially after dinner, and on being awakened at the close of the trial, when it came to his turn to give his vote, rubbing his eyes, he cried out, half asleep half awake, ad patibulum, ad patibulum-" to the gallows, to the gallows;" though he had heard little or nothing of the case. 1 The same thirst for blood, and the same unprincipled recklessness in indiscriminately sentencing their victims to death, characterized the ruling members of this bloody tribunal. Nor did they shrink from imbruing their hands in the blood of the noblest in the land-Alva having laid it down as a principle that "one salmon's head is worth a thousand frogs." In June, 1568, about twenty-one of the nobility (some of whom were Roman Catholics, others Protestants), including the Counts of Egmont and Horn, two noblemen greatly beloved by the people, and whose services, both to Philip and to his father could not save them, were, by the sentence of this bloody council, beheaded, at Brussels amidst the horror and suppressed indignation of the spectators. Such were the shocking barbarity and tyranny of the men who carried all in the council, that the greater number of the members, who were Flemings, having some sparks of humanity left unextinguished in their bosoms, ashamed and horrified, absented themselves during the greater part of the proceedings, and at length left the whole authority in the hands of three Spaniards, Vargas, Louis del Rio, a Spanish priest, and la Torre, their secretary.2

¹ Hessels, by a merited retribution, ultimately suffered the same fate which, with such cold-blooded disregard to evidence, he had awarded to others. He "was hanged upon a tree, without any form of justice or process, by the governors of Ghent, Imbise and Rihove, whom he had often threatened, by his gray beard, to hang."—Maurier's Lives of the Princes of Orange, p. 21.

^{*} Le Clerc, tom. i., p. 14.

Being in want of money to carry on this execrable tyranny resolved to impose upon the Netherlands exorbitant taxes, an make them pay the expenses of keeping them in slavery. were a general tax, first of the 100th penny of every man's es be paid immediately, and then the twentieth penny of imme property, and the tenth penny upon the sale of all moveable as often as sold. From these sources, as from inexhaustible Alva anticipated an immense revenue, boasting that he would a stream of gold, reaching from the Netherlands to Spain, a as his arm.1 To these ruinous taxes the opposition made people was so strong, that their imposition was delayed for two when he revived his demand of the twentieth and tenth penn ordained, without the consent of the states-without havin consulted them-that these taxes, with some modifications, be raised by placard. The Netherlanders had hitherto bor tyranny with comparative submission,2 though the miseries wrought language is unequal to express; but this attack upo purses exhausted the measure of their patience, and was met strenuous resistance. The burghers of Brussels, upon whom attempted to levy the new taxes, shut up their shops and houses, declaring that they had no goods to sell, and consec ought to pay no taxes. But he was not thus to be defeated object. Roused to fury by resistance, he prepared to exact pa by military force; but while he was just on the eve of hang some of the principal citizens at their own doors and winde terrify the rest into submission, the news of the taking of the by the Gueux, and of an expected sudden revolt of the provi Holland reached him. These disasters, which he had not antic filled his hands with new work, and, dispensing for the preser his taxes and executions, he bent his energies to the suppres these other revolutionary movements.

¹ Maurier, p. 30 .- Brandt, vol. i., p. 278,

^{2 &}quot;The quiet and patient temper of the people of Holland and Zealand had Alva with so sovereign a contempt for them, that he was accustomed to say I smother them in their own butter."—Davies's Hist. of Holland, vol. i., p. 582.

As if he would compete for the palm of ferocious butchery with the most sanguinary characters recorded in history, Alva was wont to boast, after he left the Netherlands, that during the few years that he had governed that country, namely, from the close of August, 1567, to the beginning of December, 1573, he had caused 18,000 heretics and rebels to pass through the hands of the executioner, without including those who had lost their lives in the war. Yet his right-hand man, Vargas, would at the same time affirm that the Low Countries were lost by foolish compassion.

Such were the tyranny and oppression to which the Netherland provinces were subjected on account of the Reformation during the period embraced in the sketches of the first five female martyrs included in this portion of our work; and these martyrs are the representatives of thousands, and tens of thousands of female worthies, who suffered imprisonment, banishment, or death, for the truth in the Netherlands.

The sketches of the last two ladies, who were the wives of William, Prince of Orange, introduce us to a scene in the history of the Netherlands which somewhat relieves the feelings of desolation experienced in contemplating the preceding unmitigated persecution, namely, the efforts of that prince, by an appeal to arms, to deliver his country from this terrible oppression, and the success which, to a great extent, attended these efforts; though it is painful to find that so disinterested a patriot at last fell by the hands of an assassin.

On the 19th of December, 1567, while the prince was in Germany, whither, as we have seen before, he had retired previously to Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, he was, by Alva's orders, publicly cited to appear before the council of blood within six weeks, in violation of his rights and privileges; for, being a knight of the golden fleece, be could only be tried by the king, assisted by his peers and knights. Alva, at the same time, apprehended Philip William, Count of Buren, the prince's eldest son, a youth of about thirteen years of age, who

¹ Maurier, p 44.-Braudt, vol. i., p. 306.

was studying at the college of Louvain, and carried him to where he was detained a prisoner at large for the space of eight years.1 This hard usage, combined with the miserable tion of his country under the iron rule of Alva, determin prince to hazard all to deliver his country from intolerable to This resolve proved fatal to the interests of Philip in the lands. The prince was, indeed, the only one of the nobility of forming and maintaining a party. Of profound wisde heroic courage; of enlarged and liberal views, far in advance age; 2 equally distinguished in the cabinet and in the field; and resolute'; wisely bending to circumstances and patiently for favourable conjunctures; never losing sight of his great and never losing hope even when all others despaired; ner difficulties only to more indomitable perseverance, and posin an uncommon degree, the ability of rallying his affairs wh were thought to be ruined; deriving large revenues from his dencies in the provinces; having powerful resources in German his great possessions, credit, and alliances in that country; es and honoured abroad, and idolized by the people at home, he v eminently fitted to be the leader in that great struggle for maintained in the Netherlands in the last half of the 16th Of this his enemies were fully persuaded. The sagacious . Perrenotte, Cardinal Granville, when tidings were brought t that Alva had arrested all the great lords of the Netherland if Silence was taken, meaning the Prince of Orange, who, from ing little, was known by the sobriquet "Silence," or "The Taci

¹ Maurier, p. 23.-Brandt, vol. i., p. 262.-Le Clerc, vol. i., p 15.

² The liberality of his sentiments, with respect to religious toleration, attributed by the Romanists, after their usual manner, to his indifference a gion. The Jesuit historian, Strada, speaks of his religion as doubtful, or a all.—De Bello Belgico, tom. i., lib. ii., p. 57.

³ Maurier, pp. 12, 23.—"He talked little," says Maurier, "thought much, always to the purpose, and his words passed for oracles." His speeches and ments drawn up by him, which have descended to our times, are remarks vigorous Roman-like eloquence. Though not a man of many words, the pyet not averse to convivial intercourse and enjoyment, and he would enter intercourse.

and when answered, "No," he replied, "if he is not in the net, Alva

By the representations of the prince, the German Protestant princes were so far moved as to connive at his raising troops in their dominions, and even to lend him money. His brother, Count John of Nassau, supplied him with a large sum, and the Netherland refugees at London, Emden, Cleves, and other places, made contributions, while the prince himself sold all his jewels, plate, and furniture, to enable him to raise troops. His earliest efforts were unsuccessful; but, undiscouraged by defeat, and rendered more determined from the Duke of Alva's having declared him to be banished on pain of death, and all his estates within the dominions of Spain forfeited, he watched for a concurrence of more propitious circumstances, which at last he found from Alva's continued cruelties, and especially from his exorbitant taxes, which made the Spanish government universally hated in the Netherlands by all orders and creeds, Romanists as well as Protestants, and, driving them to desperation, made them ready to receive with open arms a prince so greatly beloved and trusted. By the states of Holland, which met at Dort on the 15th of July, 1569, though he was then in Germany, he was declared the lawful stadtholder of the king; and in August, 1569, he came into the Netherlands with an army from Germany. The insurrection under him becoming daily more formidable, Philip at length began to dread the total defection of these provinces, and recalled Alva from the government, appointing, as his successor, Don Lewis de Requesens, governor of Castile, a man of a less violent and sanguinary temper. Requesens entered Brussels on the 17th of November, 1573, and on the 1st of December Alva surrendered to him the whole government, civil and military, departing the following day for Spain, accompanied by his son, Don Frederick, and Vargas. The appointment of the new governor did not, however, promise to conversation with persons of all ranks, even with the humblest, observing to some of his friends, who thought this condescension a lessening of his dignity, "that what was rained by a little complaisance was bought at a very easy rate."-Maurier, pp. 114, 115. 1 Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i , lib. vi., p. 216.

NETHER

the Netherlanders the security and liberty which they dem and the Prince of Orange continued vigorously to carry on the His resources were vastly inferior to those of Spain; but military genius he maintained the struggle for years again might of that kingdom, and laid the foundations of a free and testant commonwealth—the United Provinces, which cover ocean with its fleets, and surpassed all Europe in naval power

Mar. 1



WENDELMUTA KLAAS,

A WIDOW OF MONICKENDAM.

A VING issued his persecuting placards, Charles V., as we have seen in the Introduction, was not long in finding victims on whom to execute them; and among the first who fell a sacrifice in the Netherlands, on account of their steadfastness to the reformed principles, after these placards were issued, was Wendelmuta Klaas, a widow of Monickendam, in North Holland.

Her reformed sentiments becoming known, apprehended in the year 1527, and imprisoned in the castle rden. On the 15th of November that year she was confrom that castle to the Hague. On the 18th she was brought Count Van Hoogstraten, stadtholder of Holland, and the buncil, by whom she was closely examined. Transubstantia-ayers to saints, auricular confession, and other Popish docupplied ample materials for questions; to all which she gave and judicious answers. The following is a specimen of the ratories put to her, and of the answers she returned:—cil.—"If you are not free in answering us, and unless you be your errors, a dreadful death awaits you."

Wendelmuta.—" If the power is given you from above, I am prepared to suffer."

ared to suffer."

Coun.—"You do not fear death because you have not tasted it."

Wend.—"That is true, neither shall I ever taste it, for Christ hath said, 'If any man keep my sayings, he shall never see death."

Coun.—"What is your belief as to the sacrament of the mass?"

Wend.—"I believe it to be nothing but a piece of dough; and whereas you hold it to be a God, I say that it is your devil."

Coun.—"What do you think as to the saints, their pictures and images?"

Wend .- "I know no other mediator than Jesus Christ."

Coun.—"You must die if you hold to this. . . . Will you have a confessor or not?"

Wend.—"I have confessed all my sins to Christ, my Lord, who taketh away all sins; but if I have offended any one, I heartily ask of him forgiveness."

Coun.—"Who has taught you this opinion? and how have you come by it?"

Wend.--"The Lord, who calls all men to him: I am one of his sheep, therefore I hear his voice."

Coun.-" Are you alone then called?"

Wend,-"Oh no! for the Lord calls to him all that are heavy laden."

After many other questions of a similar kind were put to her, to which she gave corresponding answers, she was led back to her prison. On the two following days, the last of which was the day of her execution, many persons—monks, priests, women, and her nearest relatives—came to visit her, with the view of inducing her to save her life by abandoning her faith; but she resisted all their entreaties, refusing to purchase life on such dishonourable terms. Among her visitors was a noble matron, who, in condoling with her, advised her, as the line of policy best befitting the times, to keep her opinions to herself: "Dear mother, can you not think as you please, and be silent; so that you should not die?" "Ah!"

said this magnanimous martyr, "you know not what you say. It is written, 'With the heart we believe to righteousness, with the tongue we confess to salvation.' I cannot be silent, dear sister. I cannot be silent; I am commanded and constrained to speak out by Him who hath said, 'Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.' (Matt. x. 33). "I am afraid, then," rejoined the lady, "that they will put you to death." "Whether, to-morrow, they burn me or put me into a sack and drown me," replied Wendelmuta, "that to me is a matter of indifference. If such be the Lord's appointment, it must come to pass; not otherwise. It is my purpose to cleave to the Lord."

Two Dominican friars, the one as father confessor, the other as an



Wendelmuta Klass and the Dominican Friars.

instructor, came also to her cell, to persuade her, if possible, to relinquish her heretical opinions, and obtain absolution. These men, it is evident, were grossly ignorant, unable to say anything in vindication of their church, and they did not even attempt to enter the lists in argument with her. The last-mentioned friar, placing a crucifix before her, said, "See, here is the Lord your God." "That is not my God," she calmly but boldly answered. "It is another cross by which I am redeemed. That is a wooden god: throw him into the fire, and warm yourselves by him." The other friar asked whether on the morning of her death she would receive the sacrament of the mass, which he would readily administer to her. She rejected the proferred service, demanding, "What God would you give me; one that is perishable, that is bought for a farthing?" And the priest having expressed to her the joy he felt in having that day celebrated mass, she told him that he had crucified the Son of God afresh. "Methinks you are beside yourself," said the friar uncourteously, and then he put to her the question, "What do you think of the holy unction?" "Oil is good in a salad, or to smear your shoes with," was her reply. Thus fruitless were the attempts made to bring her to retract her sentiments. She dreaded acting contrary to her convictions of truth and duty more than agony of body and death.

On the 20th of November, the last day of her life, she was brought into court for trial. While she was entering the hall, the monk formerly sent to her prison to instruct her, advanced towards her, and holding forth a crucifix, called upon her to recant, before the sentence should be pronounced. Turning away from the crucifix, she said, "I cleave to my Lord and my God. Neither death nor life shall separate me from him." The trial proceeded. To convict her of heresy a shorter process than the examination of witnesses was deemed sufficient. A few questions were put to her, and these, in the estimation of her judges, being unsatisfactorily answered, the Dean of Maeldwyk, sub-commissary and inquisitor, read her sentence in Latin from a paper, and then repeated it in Dutch, pronouncing her guilty of holding a false faith respecting the sacrament of the altar, and of obstinately continuing in the same, and delivering her over to the secular arm, or to the civil authorities, beseeching

them to treat her with elemency, not to break a bone of her body, nor to shed her blood. "This the inquisitors did," says Dr. M'Crie, "to escape falling under the censure of irregularity, which the canons of the church had denounced against ecclesiastics who should be accessory to the inflicting of any bodily injury. Yet they not only knew what would be the consequence of this act, but had taken all the precautions necessary for securing it."1 Having pronounced this sentence, the dean, with two other ecclesiastics, who had sat with him on the bench, withdrew from the council. The chancellor, then, upon the ground that she was an obstinate heretic, condemned her to be burned at the stake, and declared all her goods to be confiscated. On hearing her doom, she thus addressed the judges, "If your proceedings are now closed, I pray all of you to forgive me if I have injured or provoked any of you." This at least is an evidence of the peaceful inoffensive spirit of this woman. Wherein she had wronged them it is not easy to see. Instead of asking forgiveness for any injury which she had done to them, she had rather a right to complain of the injustice and inhumanity of their treatment of her. The monk who had been so assiduous in his efforts for her conversion redoubled them after her condemnation, but with as little success as before.

She was immediately conducted from the council hall to the place of execution, to undergo the fatal sentence. While she was leaving the hall, the monk exhorted her to call upon "our dear lady," the Virgin Mary, to pray for her. "Our lady," said she, "is happy in repose with God." "Call upon her," repeated the monk eagerly. "We have Christ," rejoined Wendelmuta, "who sits at the right hand of the Father, he intercedes for us." As she approached the scaffold, the monk, holding the crucifix before her, as he had frequently done before, importuned her, but again in vain, to look once on her Lord who died for her. "Do you not fear the ordeal you must suffer in the fire?" he demanded. "I do not," she answered, "for I know how I stand with my God."

¹ History of the Reformation in Spain, p. 278.

Having reached the scaffold, a Christian friend standing by called out to her to turn to the people, and entreat them to forgive her if in anything she had offended them. This she at once did in the frankest and most cordial manner. The monk again presented to her the crucifix, which she pushed aside with her hand, and turning away, said, annoyed by his harassing solicitations, "Why do you tempt me? The Lord, my God, is in heaven above." Still he continued urging her to recant with such persistency as was offensive even to the executioner, who advised her to abide by God, and not to suffer herself to be drawn away from him. Meanwhile she took her place at the stake at which she was to be burned, and was unmoved at the sight of the fire. The executioner having made ready the cords to strangle her, she took off her neckerchief or scarf; and when the cord was fastened around her neck, she was again assailed by the monk, who to the last moment of her life evinced extreme solicitude for her conversion; whether from a sincere though blinded concern for her welfare, or from an officious impertinent disposition, it is not easy to determine. "My good Wendelmuta," said he, "do you wish to die as a Christian? Do you renounce all heresy?" "Yes I do," she replied. "That is right," continued the monk. "Are you likewise sorry that you have erred?" "I erred formerly," she cried out, "for that I am sorry; but this is no error, it is the right way; I cleave to God." These were the last words she spoke. As soon as she had uttered them the executioner proceeded to strangle her; on feeling which she closed her eyes, as if about to fall asleep, and life became extinct without a struggle, before the flames had seized upon her to consume her.

¹ Brandt, vol. i., p. 56.—Foxe's Acts and Mon., vol. iv., p. 377.—Braght's Martyrology of the Baptists, vol. i., pp. 40-44. In this last work she is named "Weynken Class." Though included among the martyrs of the Baptists, it is doubtful whether she belonged to that sect. She was not accused of any heterodox opinions about baptism, which she probably would have been had she denied the validity of infant baptism.



Antwerp Cathedral, from the Egg Market.

LYSKEN DIRKS.

WIFE OF JERONIMUS SEGERSON.

YSKEN DIRKS belonged to the body of the Anabaptists, who form so large a proportion of the vast numbers that were slain in the Netherlands for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.

The fate of the Anabaptists was peculiarly hard, of only were they treated with unusual severity by the government, but strong prejudices and antipathies were entertained by the other Reformers against them, not merely against the party

called by that name, which, under the influence of a fanatical enthusiasm, dishonoured and injured the Reformation by their extravagance and insubordination to civil authority, but against those Anabaptists who had no share in these excesses, who condemned them, who were as sincere in their loyalty as they were fervent in their piety. These prejudices and antipathies, perpetuated in a great measure through ignorance and misrepresentation, have been transmitted to our own time. Even the best of the Anabaptists of that period are still very generally regarded as a moody, whimsical sort of beings, who, setting sober judgment aside, were actuated by mere fantastical feeling, and who are rather to be contrasted than compared or equalled with the martyrs of the Lutheran and reformed churches, as if there was an entire opposition in all material points between the two parties. An impartial investigation into their history-in conducting which we ought not to trust implicity to the statements of their opponents-will teach us to discriminate. The Anabaptist martyrs were in error, as we believe, in denying the validity of infant baptism, and were mistaken on some other questions;1 but they held the great fundamental articles of Christian truth, particularly the doctrine of justification exclusively through faith in the blood of Christ, and they displayed under their sufferings much of the spirit of Christ. How scriptural, devout, edifying, and consolatory, were the sentiments they expressed in their letters, written from their prisons to their Christian friends! How fervent

¹ One of the other tenets maintained by them was, that while Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, he did not derive his human body from her flesh, it being formed in her womb by the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. But the Scriptures expressely say that Christ was "the seed of the woman" (Gen. iii. 15); that he was ceived in the womb of the Virgin, and was "the fruit of her womb" (Luke i 32, 42); that he was "made of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom. i. 3); and that he was "made of a woman" (Gal. iv. 4). See also Heb. ii. 14, 16, 17. The argument of the Anabaptists, that the Virgin being a sinful woman, nothing but an impare being could proceed from her flesh, whereas Christ was perfectly pure (Braght's Martyrology of the Baptists, vol. i., p. 308), evinces a commendable zeal for the purity of Christ's humanity, but the premises do not warrant the conclusion. The human nature of Christ was formed of the flesh of the Virgin without sin, by the miraculous power of the Holy Ghost (Luke i. 35).

erested their love to their Christian brethren, whose names nies could not extort from them by the most inhuman

How unshrinking their courage, and triumphant their eeting the most terrible deaths! No Christian person who, judice aside, reads with candour the truthful and touching of their martyrdom, can hesitate in coming to the conat many of them, both male and female, as little deserve oached as misguided visionary zealots, and were governed sere a love to Christ, and as ardent a love to the truth, to the measure of their light, as Luther, Zwingle, and hose names are sanctified and immortalized in the memory rch. They were, indeed, almost exclusively confined to the anks of life, and their names are unknown to fame. But ce they made of their lives for God, was not on that acless precious to Him, nor did that prevent them from nded, and we believe that thousands and tens of thousands re included, among that honoured company described in lypse: "And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came nd I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said unto are they which came out of great tribulation, and have eir robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and is temple; and God shall wipe away all tears from their v. vii. 13-17).

racter and spirit of the excellent woman of whose suffernartyrdom we are now to lay before the reader a brief acrd a fair representation of the character and spirit generally digned body of martyrs with whom she was associated in cal fellowship.¹

tever other means Lysken was brought to the knowledge ght's Martyrology of the Baptists, printed for the Hanserd Knollys Society, authority for this sketch. This work contains interesting narratives of pious female Anabaptists, who intrepidly suffered death for their principles, a forms of beheading, burning, drowning, and burying alive. of the truth, it is evident, from the memorials left concerning her, that the Sacred Scriptures were the chief. Being a woman of an active and inquiring mind, she eagerly perused them in her secret hours, drinking deep at the great fountain of Divine truth, and thereby she discovered that Popery is a system of imposture, and the mystery of iniquity. This discovery was not inoperative. Too many in those times of persecution, while abhorring the system of Popery, yet joined in its idolatrous and impure worship, from the dread of personal danger. But true to the light which shone upon her mind, Lysken having renounced the Popish faith in her heart, deserted its worship, and openly professed the doctrines of the Reformation, undaunted by the persecution which awaited all who avowed or were suspected of a leaning to these doctrines.

She was married, probably in the year 1549 or 1550, to Jeronimus Segerson, an intelligent young man of high Christian character, and also a convert to the reformed and Anabaptist principles. They were united before the church at Antwerp, of which they were members, the Anabaptists refusing to have this rite performed by the Popish clergy; "which was made a matter of reproach and accusation by their enemies, as if they encouraged and practised licentiousness."

Having both attached themselves to the Reformation and to the Anabaptists, they were surrounded by the snares of death; and in entering into wedlock, they could hardly have been without some presentiments that they might be called, as thousands in their native country had been called before them, to die as martyrs—to seal their faith with their blood. That they had such forebodings appears from one of Segerson's letters, written to his brethren and sisters in the church, after his imprisonment. "This is the hour," says he, "regarding which I so long besought the Lord, knowing myself to be unworthy to suffer for his name's sake." To human nature this

¹ "When marriage became a civil act in the Netherlands, in 1574 and 1580, the Baptists ceased to marry in their assemblies, and resorted to the civil authorities."—Braght's Martyrology of the Baptists, note by editor, vol. i., p. 374.
² Braght's Martyrology of the Baptists, vol. i., p. 393.

was doubtless an appalling prospect, and that, as they looked it in the face, a feeling of withering desolation should sometimes pass over their spirits, is what might be expected. But it does not seem to have abated for a single moment their devotion to the cause they had embraced. The great doctrines of the Reformation, and particularly the doctrine of salvation through the righteousness of Christ alone, which had now burst forth upon a darkened world after an obscuration of ages, had taken full possession of their understandings and their hearts; and though they might have many fears, doubts, and misgivings, as to their being able in their own strength to stand the fiery trial, it was their united prayer that God, by his grace, would enable them to be steadfast to the truth, whatever they might suffer from the power and the malice of men.

In 1551, while quietly residing in Antwerp,1 they were both apprehended and thrown into prison. They were confined in separate cells, and never again saw each other in this world. They were, however, allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper, and the correspondence between them when in prison is singularly affecting and beautiful. The tone pervading it is not that of sullen spirits refusing to yield, from stubborn inflexible obstinacy, but that of calm, enlightened, conscientious minds, determined to be true to God and conscience at all hazards. Tenderly loving each other, and recently united in marriage, these circumstances naturally attracted them to this world, and aggravated the struggle between the desire to live and the resolution they had formed, from a sense of duty and by the grace of God, to surrender their lives rather than deny their Saviour. But their faith in Christ and their love to Him triumphed over the feelings of nature, and produced devoted unrepining submission. If Jesus laid down his life for us, they reasoned, shall we refuse to lay down our lives for Him? They were persuaded that, painful as the sacrifice might be to flesh and blood, they would be no losers in the end; that death, in whatever way it might befall them, at the stake,

Antwerp contained at that time a population of 200,000.—Les Délices des Pays—Bas edit., à Liege, 1769, tom. i., pp. 261, 262.

in the river, or in the ocean, as well as on a bed, would be the passage to blessedness unspeakable and eternal. His letters to her are the most numerous and the longest, and they evince a heart open to all the best feelings of our nature. His whole heart and soul are plainly in all he says. There is a touching pathos in his endeavours to soothe her under the cruelty and injustice of which she was the victim. From these letters she derived great advantage; they sent hope and joy into her heart when ready to sink, and gradually all despondency fled. The gloom of a prison was forgotten, it brightened even into a bower as she thought of the faithful promises of God's Word, and beheld the future gilded with the glories of immortal life.

In one of his letters to her from prison, Segerson thus begins:-

"In lonesome cell, guarded and strong, I lie Bound by Christ's love, his truth to testify; Though walls be thick, the door no hand unclose, God is my strength, my solace and repose.

Grace, peace, gladness, joy, and comfort, a firm faith, good confidence, with an ardent love to God, I wish my most beloved wife, Lysken Dirks, whom I married in the presence of God and his holy church, and took thus, agreeably to the Lord's command, to be my wife." After an account of his examination before the margrave and two justices, in the course of which the margrave stigmatized his wife as being the greatest heretic in the town, he addresses himself to the painful yet grateful task of supporting her faith, patience, and fortitude. "My most beloved wife, Lysken, submit yourself to present circumstances; be patient in tribulation, and instant in prayer. and look at all times to the precious promises everywhere given us if we continue steadfast to the end. . . . Fear not the world, for the hairs of your head are all numbered. Men have no power, except it be given them from above. Christ said, 'Fear not them that kill the body, but fear him who is able, after he hath killed the body, to cast the soul into hell; there shall be weeping of eyes, and grasheth, and their worm shall not die; they shall rest neither night'" (Matt. x. 28; Luke xiii. 28; Is. lxvi. 24; and 11). May the almighty and eternal God so strengthen ort you with his blessed Word, that you may abide faithful I. Then shall you likewise be found under the altar with dear children, where all tears shall be wiped away from There shall all tribulation have an end. Then shall our body be glorified, and fashioned after the likeness of His hen shall our weeping be turned into laughter, and our to joy. Then shall we who for a short space are despised mned, yea, persecuted and cast out, and in great reproach, contempt are brought to death for the testimony of Jesus njoy an everlasting triumph, and dwell for ever with the e shall be clothed with white robes, as John testifies in tion concerning the souls of them that were slain for the God, and for the witness they bore (Rev. vi. 9-11). Oh! lorious company shall we be, when united with the great of which John in his revelation speaks: he 'saw a great , which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, e, and tongues, standing before the throne, and before the thed with white robes, and having palm branches in their nd they cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb' (Rev. vii. 9, 10). O, my wife, from my inmost heart beloved, I cannot suffiank the Lord for all the great kindness which he shows to He gives me such strength that I cannot express it. Ah! I that the Lord is a faithful helper in time of need. He not them that put their trust in him. For he that trusteth d shall not be put to shame. He will keep us as the apple He will deliver us from all the assaults of the devil, and tyranny of this world; yea, he will preserve us, that we

lescend to hell, provided we faithfully abide by him unto for Christ saith, 'He that endureth steadfast unto the end aved.' O, my heartily beloved wife, abide faithful to the Lord, even unto death; for the crown is not at the beginning, nor in the middle, but at the end. If you abide faithful to the Lord he will not forsake you; he will give you the crown of everlasting life, and lead you into his kingdom; he will crown you with praise and honour; he will wipe away all tears from your eyes."

It was a settled plan of the persecutors to endeavour, by every means, by promises and threatenings, and by such argumentation as Popish priests could employ, to bring the heretics who had fallen into their hands to recant. Segerson's fidelity was put to this trying test. When brought before the margrave and two justices, he was strongly pressed to renounce his Protestant and Anabaptist heresies, and reconcile himself to the Romish Church; and they had brought along with them two Dominican friars, to convince him by their arguments. The hope of life was held out to him provided he yielded; otherwise, he must perish at the stake. Without hesitation he thus briefly expressed his unalterable determination not to abandon his faith:—"Though you should set the door of the prison open, and should say to me, 'Go, only cry you are sorry,' I should not stir, because I know I have the truth on my side."

Segerson well knew that similar endeavours would be made to extort from his wife a recantation; a step which, should she be prevailed upon to take, would inevitably destroy the peace of her mind, without, in all probability, saving her life. He, therefore, in a subsequent letter to her, thus puts her on her guard:—"Christ himself hath warned us that in the last days many false prophets and false Christs shall arise, insomuch that, if it were possible, they should deceive the very elect. But that is impossible; for the Lord upholds them with his strong arm, so that the gates of hell cannot hurt them. . . . Christ hath warned us also against the doctrine of the Pharisees, and of those that come in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. Marvel not that the ministers of Antichrist are transformed as the ministers of God, that they come with dissembled sanctity and lying lips; for Satan can transform

¹ Braght's Martyrology of the Baptists, vol. i., p. 379.

himself into an angel of light. . . . I therefore beseech you, my dear wife, from the bottom of my heart, seeing we are so faithfully warned against the false prophets, who have only the doctrine of devils, and seek nothing but to rend and destroy our souls; I beseech you once more that you give no heed to them, and have nothing to do with them."

These precautions and admonitions were very seasonable; for attempts were repeatedly made, though without success, to betray her into an abjuration of the principles dearest to her heart. "Why," said the monks and persecutors, with sarcastic sneers, at one time on visiting her, " should you meddle with the Scriptures; you had better mind your sewing ?" "Christ commands us to search the Scriptures," she answered, "and God is to be obeyed rather than man." "It seems," added they, "that you will follow the apostles; what are the signs that you show? They spake with divers tongues after they had received the Holy Ghost. Where is the tongue that you have received from the Holy Spirit?" But she did not, like the apostles, profess to work miracles, and to speak tongues she had never learned. "It is enough for us," said she, "that we are become believers through their words." They told her that because she had not been married by a Popish priest, she was not truly married, and that she had been living in adultery with him whom she called her husband. But even by this calumny she was unmoved. "My dear husband in the Lord," said she in a letter to him, communicating these facts, "whom I married before God and his people, but with whom they say I have lived in adultery, because I was not married in Baal; the Lord saith, 'Rejoice, when men shall say all manner of evil against you; rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great shall be your reward in heaven'" (Matt. v. 12).2 In the same letter, encouraging both herself and him to sustain their trials with Christian patience and fortitude, she says-"Praised be God the Father who bath had, and hath shown such love to us, that he hath given his dear

2 Ibid.,, vol. i., pp. 406, 407.

¹ Braght's Martyrology of the Buptists, vol. i., pp. 395, 396.

Son for us. He will bestow upon us such love, such joy, such wisdom and such a steadfast mind through Christ, and by the might of the Holy Ghost, that we may stand firm against all devouring beasts; against dragons and serpents, and against all the gates of hell. . . . I desire that Christ crucified may be our everlasting joy and strength. . . . We are now here in the wilderness among these ravenous beasts that spread out their nets daily to take us therein; but the Lord is very mighty, who forsaketh not his own that put their trust in him. He preserves them from all evil, yea, as the apple of his eye. Let us then be at rest in him, and take up our cross with joy and patience, and expect, with firm assurance, the fulfilment of the promises he has given us, nothing doubting (for he is faithful that hath promised) that we shall be crowned on the hill of Zion, and adorned with palms, and follow the Lamb. I pray you, my beloved in the Lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with all dear friends, and pray to the Lord for me. Amen."1

At another time two priests were brought into her cell to make renewed attempts to reclaim her to the Romish Church; but her steadfastness remained unshaken, and in Scripture argumentation she proved more than a match for the priests. The following is a report of what was said on both sides:—

Priests — (Speaking in a tone of affected sympathy).— "We are much grieved that you hold such opinions, for we cannot consider it to be faith but only opinion, seeing you do not hold what the church enjoins." Here they repudiate the right of private judgment, maintaining that men and women should extinguish the light of their own understandings, shut their eyes, and believe just what the church believes and teaches, whether it be transubstantiation, that the earth stands still, and that the sun revolves around it, or any other absurdity.

Lysken.—"I and my brethren and sisters desire to do and to believe only what the true Church of Christ, guided and governed by the Word of God, enjoins. But we will have nothing to do with

¹ Braght's Martyrology of the Baptists, vol. i., pp. 405-409.

Baal's temple, or other temples that are made with hands, after the doctrines and commandments of men, and not after Christ. Paul saith, Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ'" (Col. ii. 8).

Priests.-" We are consecrated and have a divine commission; we are the apostles' successors; we are those who sit in Moses' seat."

Lusken .- "To you belongs the woe recorded in Matthew xxiii. 13, Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in."

Priests.—" Do you mean to say that he who taught you these things is sent of God?"

Lysken.—" Yes, indeed; I know assuredly that he is sent of God." Priests.-" Do you know what qualifications should belong to a teacher?"

Lysken.—" A teacher should be the husband of one wife, blameless, having obedient children, no drunkard, not given to wine, not incontinent" (1 Tim. iii. 2). In this answer she touched upon some sore points, and the priests felt reproved, as appears from their reply.

Priests,-"If we do wrong the consequences will fall upon our own heads; but the Lord is merciful."

Lysken .- "Would you sin because of the mercy of the Lord; is it not written that we should not add sin to sin (Ecclus. v. 5), nor take encouragement to commit it, because the grace of God abounds (Rom. vi. 1). You are ever learning, and yet never able to come to the knowledge of the truth" (2 Tim. iii. 7).

Priests.—"Christ said to his apostles, 'It is given unto you'-and we are the successors of the apostles-' to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them'-to the people-'it is not given,' and to them, therefore, Christ spake in parables" (Matt. xiii. 11).

Lysken.-"Those among the people who rightly understand, and who are taught of God, to them it is now also given to understand these mysteries. 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and

earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and p and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father: for seemed good in thy sight'" (Matt. xi. 25, 26).

Priests—(Crossing themselves most devoutly, making a los and speaking in a solemn sanctimonious tone).—"You shall the truth of what we have now said, when you shall stand the judgment-seat."

Lysken.—"True, indeed; we shall then know whether it is or falsehood; and when the Son of Man shall sit in the the his glory, we also who have followed Him in the regeneration sit upon thrones, to judge this disobedient and adulterous tion" (Matt. xix. 28).

So far from being overcome, or even moved, by the end made to draw her into a recantation, her resolution to perset the confession of the faith to the death, became the more of the longer she lay in prison. The following letter, which, if last, was among the last she wrote to her husband, is a proof and the sentiments expressed in it, so truly apostolic, of honour to her understanding and her heart:—

"The abundant grace of God be ever with us both: the the Son and his inscrutable mercy, and the joy of the Holy with us eternally. Amen. To Him who hath begotten us ag the dead, be glory from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

"I desire Christ crucified to be to us both the defer guardian of our souls. May he preserve us in all righteousn ness, and truth to the end! He will keep us as his sons an ters, if we maintain our devotedness to him to the end; ye apple of his eye. Let us therefore confide in him, and he w forsake us; but will keep us, as he has kept his own from t ning of the world, and will not let any temptation overtak such as is common to man.

"The Lord is faithful, saith Paul, who will not suffer tempted above that we are able. Blessed be God, the Fath

Braght's Martyrology of the Baptists, vol. i., p. 414.

Lord Jesus Christ, who hath counted us worthy to suffer for His name, a suffering short and transitory, through the precious promises which he hath given us and all who remain steadfast to his truth. In a few things we may suffer here, but with many shall we be rewarded.

"My dearly beloved husband in the Lord, you have partly passed through your trial, wherein you have remaind steadfast. The Lord be for ever praised and glorified for his great mercy. I beseech the Lord with tears, that he will make me also meet to suffer for his name's sake; they are all chosen sheep that he hath chosen thereto; for he hath redeemed them from among men, to be first fruits unto God. Yea, we know, as Paul saith, 'If we suffer, we shall also reign with him; if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him.' Therefore let us not despise the chastening of the Lord; 'for whom he loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth,' as Paul relates. Herewith I commend you to the Lord, and to the word of his grace and glory, whereby he will glorify us, if we remain therein to the end. The grace of the Lord be with us."

Lysken, when apprehended, had the prospect of becoming, for the first time, a mother. This made her sufferings the more severe, and naturally strengthened her love of life. The thought of being torn from the lovely babe to which she expected to give birth, and of leaving it in a world of sorrow and temptation upon the care of others, agonized her mind beyond conception. Her husband endeavoured to alleviate her feelings of anguish, of which he himself partook, arising from this source. In one letter to her he says, "Be not anxious for our child, for my friends will take care of it; yea, the Lord will watch over it." In another letter to her he says, "I have committed us both, and our issue into His hands, that he may accomplish His divine will in us." And in his last letter to her the closing words are, "I am somewhat sorry that I leave you amongst these wolves; but I have commended you and the fruit of our union to the Lord, and am fully persuaded that he will preserve you to the

¹ Braght's Martyrology of the Baptists, vol. i., p. 416.

end. In this persuasion I rest myself in peace." But, strongly as the tie of maternal feeling bound her to life and to the world, her faith in Christ, her love to him, and her hope of the future reward, enabled her, though it is not to be supposed without a severe struggle, to triumph even over this tie, and made her willing to have it broken rather than be unfaithful to Christ. This view of her circumstances the more strongly excites our sympathy, and enhances our admiration of her exalted Christian heroism. It kindles into deeper intensity our indignation at the cruelty of the men who could thus wantonly sport with such a sacred thing as maternal affection. And it confirms, what has been before observed, that it was not a dogged obstinacy, nor a stoical carelessness of her fate, which made her steadfast and bold in the confession of her faith, but a calm determination to be true to Christ, at whatever earthly sacrifices.

Times of persecution bind more strongly the ties of affection by which the persecuted are linked together. Lysken had many Christian friends in Antwerp who felt for her the deepest Christian sympathy, and who were anxious to know the state of her mind, and how she was supported in her distressing situation. To gratify their wishes she wrote a letter to them, telling them that, painful as her condition was to human nature, she was not unhappy; that, on the contrary, she was peaceful and resigned; that she was constrained by her love to Jesus to submit to whatever men could inflict upon her for his sake; that she was animated by the hope of a glorious reward; and she expresses an earnest desire for an interest in their prayers, the more especially as, from her circumstances, she would be longer than her husband in being relieved from all her sufferings by martyrdom. "I cannot fully thank nor praise the Lord on account of the great mercy and unfathomable compassion, and great love which he has shown towards us, that we should be his sons and daughters if we overcome as he has overcome. . . Let us observe, dear friends in the Lord, what great love wordly people

Bright's Martyrology of the Baptists, vol. i., pp. 403, 420, 426.

have for each other. There are those in prison (we have heard it said) who rejoice if they may but go to the rack for the sake of those they love, since they then would be more closely united to each other in spirit, although they might not in person come together. How then, my beloved brothers and sisters in the Lord, if the world have such love, O, what love ought not we to have who wait for such glorious promises? I have before my eyes a beautiful resemblance in a bride, how she ornaments herself to please the bridegroom of this world. O, how ought we, then, to adorn ourselves to please our Bridegroom! . . . I beseech the Lord, night and day, that he will give us such an ardent love that we may not regard whatever torments they may inflict upon us; yea, that we may say with the prophet David, 'I fear not, whatever men may do unto me.' This our suffering, which is light and temporary, is not to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. Since, then, the will of the Lord is that, with Daniel, I should lie long in the lion's den, and await howling and ravening wolves and lions, and the old serpent that was from the beginning and shall be to the end, I entreat all my dear brethren and sisters, that they forget me not in their prayers. I will likewise cheerfully remember them according to my ability. O, my dear friends, how can I sufficiently thank my heavenly Father that he hath thought it meet for me, a poor sheep, to lie so long in bonds for his name's sake! Night and day do I pray the Lord that this, my trial, may prove to my soul's salvation, to the praise of the Lord, and to the edification of my dear brethren and sisters. Amen."1

Jeronimus was burnt at the stake, at Antwerp, on September 2, 1551.

Lysken, who had been long kept in prison, till she should be delivered of her child, was at length brought to the bar, to undergo her final trial and receive her sentence. The natural tendency of the peculiar situation in which she had been placed, was to render her timid and apprehensive. But she felt no embarrassment, and

¹ Braght's Martyrology of the Baptists, vol. i., p. 413.

betrayed no symptoms of timidity in the presence of her judges, and of the multitude assembled to witness the proceedings. Her examination is imperfectly recorded by the chronicler of her sufferings; but she answered the questions put to her concerning baptism, and the other points on which it was common to examine the martyrs, without hesitation, and in a tone of firm determination. Her answers not satisfying her judges, they stood up, and after consulting together a short time, pronounced sentence upon her, condemning her to be drowned in the Scheldt on the following day. On hearing this sentence she could not forbear reminding them, that for the injustice dealt out to her they would one day have to answer at the tribunal of the righteous judge of the world. "Ye are now judges, but the time will come when ye will wish that ye had been in the humblest station, for there is a judge and Lord who is above all, he shall, in his own time, judge you; but we have not to wrestle against flesh and blood, but against principalities, and powers, and rulers of the darkness of this world." Irritated at this appeal to their consciences, and to the justice of heaven, they ordered her to be removed from the bar.

Whilst the officers were removing her, curiosity drew after them a crowd of people, to whom she said, "Know that I do not suffer for robbery, or murder, or any kind of wickedness, but solely for the incorruptible Word of God." As she was passing by the Barg church, reflecting on the purposes to which it was appropriated, the superstitious doctrines taught, and the idolatrous worship practised within its precincts, by which the people were deceived and their souls ruined, she exclaimed, "O thou den of murderers, how many souls are murdered in thee!" When near the prison, the officers bade the crowd stand aside and make way for her. "They do not hinder me," said Lysken, "they are welcome to see me, and to take an example by me, even all that love the Word of the Lord;" and, while speaking these words, she re-entered the prison.

The people were greatly moved, and deeply sympathized with the martyr. In the afternoon some of her Christian friends, followed

by many others, went to the prison to encourage and comfort her. "It is well," said they, "that you suffer only for well-doing, and not for any wicked work" (1 Peter ii. 20); and she felt the full force of this consolatory consideration. Two monks, ignorant or hypocritical, perhaps both, also came to endeavour to prevail upon her to abjure her principles, and they were shut up with her for some time; but she was not now to make shipwreck of her faith when so near the haven of everlasting rest, and she would in no wise listen to them. "Go till you are sent for," said she, "for I will give no ear to you. Had I been satisfied with your leaven, I should not have come here." One of her Christian brethren, who was present, exhorted her, in opposition to the persuasion of the monks, to strive manfully, at which they indignantly vociferated, "Here is another of her people encouraging her, more deserving of burning than she is;" and failing to make any impression upon her mind, they departed, mortified and enraged.

She was now shut up in the cell fronting the street, where she had been hitherto imprisoned, and none was permitted access to her save the jailers. Towards evening a Christian brother came to the window of her cell, and had a long interview with her. But their conversation at length attracting many of the passers by, he took farewell of her, bidding her, at the same time, stand up and show herself, by looking from the window. This she immediately did; and as she looked out upon the people collected in the street before her, some voices from the crowd cried out, "Dear sister, strive piously, for the crown of life is set before you." These encouraging words quickened in her heart the holy resolution to meet death with unshaken courage. Addressing herself to the people, she said, "Drunkards, whoremongers, and adulterers are borne with, who will read and talk of the Scripture, but they who live according to the will of God, and walk consistently therewith, must be harassed, oppressed, persecuted, killed." She then began to sing a religious hymn, and some, as this strain, it may be of rustic but also of heavenly melody, fell soothingly upon their ears, cried, "Sing out

Lysken;" but before she had finished the hymn, the magistrates with the officers came to the prison, and they drew her from the window, after which, the evening coming on, she was then no more seen.

The dreadful morning arrived—the morning of her execution—and many who took a lively interest in her fate, full of anxiety and with deep emotion, rose early, some before day, others with the day-light, to cheer her with their presence and with comfortable words to the last. But the unsleeping vigilance of the crafty murderers had anticipated them. Before the dawn they had taken her from prison, and conducting her to the Scheldt, put her into a sack, and drowned her in that river between three and four o'clock, ere a concourse of people should assemble. Some, however, witnessed the tragedy, and they bore testimony that she went with unfaltering steps and an intrepid heart to death, and that the last words which dropped from her lips were, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."





MRS. ROBERT OGUIER,

OF THE TOWN OF LISLE.



TENSIVELY spread as were the reformed sentiments in the Netherlands, there were few places in which they were preached with greater boldness, and received with greater cordiality, than in Lisle, one of the most flourishing mercantile towns in the province

For the space of three years preceding the date of our present narrative, which is the spring of the year 1557, the reformed faith had been preached in that town; and though, in consequence of the persecuting violence of the times, this was done secretly in private houses, in the neighbouring woods, fields, and caves, yet the thirst of the people for instruction in the truth was so great that they were not to be deterred, even at the peril of their lives, from frequenting these meetings. Powerful were the effects which followed. Many were thus enlightened in the knowledge of the pure doctrines of Christianity, and brought under their saving power. Among other conspicuous features of this Christian resuscitation, was the enlarged Christian liberality to which the hearts of the converts were opened; for, after the example of the primitive church, they ordained deacons to collect their freewill offerings for the poor; and their works of charity were not limited to their own party, but extended to whoever around them were in destitute circumstances. From small beginnings this church rapidly increased in numbers,

and its assemblies were attended by men, and women, and little children, not only of the town, but also of the villages four or five leagues around, who flocked thither from an eager desire to be instructed in the Word of God. Being for some time connived at by the magistrates, these assemblies were held the more frequently, and attracted a larger concourse of people.

Mrs. Oguier and her family were among the leading members of the reformed church in this place, and all of them adorned it by their exemplary Christian deportment. Their entire household establishment was regulated as if a temple for the worship of God. They were pre-eminent in their zeal for the diffusion of the truth. They abounded, too, in works of charity; and being in good worldly eircumstances, they possessed the means of gratifying their benevolent inclinations. They regularly attended the secret meetings held by the Reformers for prayer and the exposition of the Scriptures; and these meetings were often held in their house. For a short period this excellent family remained undisturbed, but in those perilous times the faithful stood in jeopardy every hour. The Dominicans, alarmed lest the whole town of Lisle should be infected with heresy. began to censure the magistrates from the pulpits for their slackness in enforcing the laws against heretics, and for conniving at conventicles. Thus incited by the monks and friars, the provost of the town, accompanied by his bailiffs, went armed through the houses of suspected persons, on Saturday, the 6th of March, 1556-7, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening. Rushing impetuously into the house of Mrs. Oguier, whose character, and the character of whose family were well known to them, they searched every part of it for prohibited books, some of which they found, and then carried away herself, her husband, and her two sons, Baldwin and Martin, to prison. While the prisoners were passing through the streets, Baldwin, who had been the chief object of the search, cried, with a loud voice, which was heard by numbers, "O Lord, not only to be prisoners for thee, but also give us grace boldly to confess thy holy doctrine before men, and that we may seal it by the ashes of our body for the edification of thy poor church." They were thrown into prison and rudely handled; but all of them praised God, who had accounted them worthy to suffer for his name's sake.

A few days after, they were brought before the magistrates of Lisle and examined. "We are informed," said the magistrates, "that you never go to mass, and that you hinder others from going to it. We are also informed that you keep conventicles in your house; and that in these erroneous doctrine is taught, contrary to the doctrines of our holy mother church; by all which you have contravened the statutes of his imperial majesty." The father, for himself and the rest, answered: "Honourable Sirs, you ask why we do not go to mass. The reason is because the precious blood of the Son of God and his oblation are thereby rendered void; and because Christ, by one offering, hath perfected them who are sanctified. Paul speaks of only one sacrifice (Heb. x. 14). Christ and his apostles celebrated the supper, in which all the Christian people communicated; but we do not read in the Holy Scriptures that they ever offered the sacrifice of the mass, or appointed it to be offered, or knew what it is. It has, therefore, no authority in the Word of God. It is the invention of men; and Christ has said, 'In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men' (Matt. xv. 9). Nor do we deny that we have held assemblies of good and pious people in our house; but these have been for the advancement of the glory of Jesus Christ, and have not been to the prejudice of the government. We know that the emperor has forbidden them, but we also know that Christ has commanded them. We could not, therefore, obey the one without disobeying the other, and we have preferred obeying God rather than man." One of the magistrates then asked the prisoners what was done at their conventicles. "With your lordship's permission," said Baldwin, the eldest son, "I will give you a full account of that matter;" and having obtained leave, he proceeded thus: "When we are come together in the name of the Lord, to hear his holy Word, we all fall at once down upon our knees, confess in humility of heart our sins before the Divine majesty, and earnestly beseech him that his

Word may be purely preached to us, and rightly understood by us. We also pray for our sovereign lord the emperor, and for all his council, that the commonwealth may be governed with peace, and to the glory of God. Nor are you, my lords, forgotten by us, as our immediate governors; we supplicate God for you and this whole city, that he would support you in what is good and just. Do you, therefore, still believe that our assembling together for these purposes can be so criminal as has been represented to you? As a proof of the truth of what I now state, I am ready, if you please, my lords, to recite these very prayers before you." Some of the judges having notified their assent, he immediately kneeled down before them, and poured forth a prayer with such fervency of spirit and vehement emotion, that it drew tears from the eyes of the judges. Having concluded, and standing up, "These," said he, "are the things which pass in our meetings."

These four confessors were afterwards put to the rack, to extort from them a discovery of those who frequented their meetings; but they completely baffled their inquisitors, refusing, under the extremity of the torture, to reveal the names of any of their brethren, excepting some who were already known, or who had made their escape.

Four or five days after, the father and the eldest son, Baldwin, were adjudged to the flames, which they endured with unshrinking courage. The two martyrs were heard conversing together in the midst of the flames, even when they were at the highest; and the son, as long as he had strength to speak, was observed to encourage his father.

The condemnation of Mrs. Oguier, and of her son, Martin, was deferred, probably in the hope that she, being a woman, and that her youngest son, from his youth, might be brought to recant. The more effectually to produce this result, they were separated from each other, and harassed by the monks, with incessant exhortations, to repent and return to the bosom of the Romish Church. Like his father and brother, Martin was not to be trepanned into a compromise of his principles, even by the prospect of saving his life. He

was, however, afraid that his mother, plied by ceaseless importonities, might, from the dread of an appalling death, be driven to renounce with the mouth those truths which she continued to believe with the heart. His fears were too truly realized. By promises and threatenings she at last yielded; and the monks, who had been unsuccessful in their efforts to shake the constancy of her son, even prevailed upon her to use her influence to induce him to abjure his errors, and return to the path of truth, as they expressed it. This her enemies accounted a great victory, of which they loudly boasted; and her Christian friends, on hearing the rumour of her falling courage, were deeply grieved. The former had not long cause to exult, nor the latter to grieve. Love to the truth all the while burned in her breast, and an affectionate appeal to her heart fanned it into a flame, raising her superior to torture and death. Her son, when admitted to see her, on discovering that she had fallen from her steadfastness, and that she began to advise him to follow her example, cried out, weeping, "O, my mother, what have you done? Have you denied the Son of God who redeemed you? Alas! what has he done to you, that you should so injure and dishonour him? Now is that misfortune befallen me which I most dreaded. O my God! why have I lived to the present moment, to witness what pierces to my inmost soul?" This at once recovered her from the shock she had received. The words and tears of a son who was in every respect so dear to her, went to her heart, and, ashamed of her pusillanimity. she burst into tears, acknowledged with unfeigned sorrow her apostasy, and besought forgiveness from God. "Good God!" she cried, *have mercy upon me, hide my transgressions under the righteousness of thy Son, and grant me strength to abide by my first confession, and confirm me in it to the last breath of my life." That, yielding to natural feeling, her constancy in the day of trial should for a moment have failed, the more especially as she was precluded from all intercourse with her friends, need not excite our surprise. The terror of the stake has shaken the resolution of the stoutest hearts; and yet when we see them, by trusting more to that strength which is made

624

perfect in weakness, recovering themselves from depressing terrors and submitting to the utmost that men can inflict upon them, with a courage rendered only the more determined from their having



Mrs. Oguier and her Son.

stumbled and fallen, it would be to violate every generous feeling of our nature harshly to censure the temporary irresolution into which they have been hurried, in circumstances so difficult and trying.

Soon again the monks visited Mrs. Oguier, expecting to find but in the same state of mind into which they had brought her. But immediately as they entered her cell, she addressed them, "Depart ye messengers of Satan, for you have no more share in me; I wish to subscribe my first confession, and if I cannot do it with ink, it shall be done with my blood." In vain did they now promise to spare her life as the reward of recantation; in vain did they hold

forth the dreadful death certainly awaiting her, if she persisted in her alleged errors. She stood firm, like a rock amidst the buffetings of the tempest.

The consequence was that she and her son were brought before the judges, and condemned to be burned alive. They both heard their sentence with unaltered countenance, which their persecutors mistook for sullen obstinacy. On their way from the bar to the prison each of them blessed God for his goodness, in causing them to triumph by Jesus Christ over all their enemies. And the son encouraging his mother, said to her, "My mother, do not forget the honour and the glory which our God confers upon us in conforming us to the image of his Son. Remember those who have walked in his ways; for they have gone no other road than this. Let us then boldly advance, my mother, and follow the Son of God, bearing his reproach, with all his martyrs, and thus shall we enter into the glory of the living God. Doubt not, my mother, that this is the way in which we ought to go; for you know that through much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of God." Upon hearing these words, one of the officers vociferated, "Villain, we now see that the devil entirely possesses you, soul and body, as he did your father and your brother, who are now in hell." My friend," said Martin, "your curses are blessings to me, before God and before his angels."

After this the mother betrayed no symptoms of weakness. No longer did her mind waver between a desire to live and a readiness to die for the truth. The latter sentiment supplanted and swallowed up the former. "Through faith, out of weakness she was made strong, and waxed valiant in fight—tortured, not accepting deliverance, that she might obtain a better resurrection." At her martyrdom she conducted herself with the utmost intrepidity. As she went up to the scaffold she said to her son, who was to suffer with her, "Ascend, Martin—ascend, my son." When he was about to address the spectators, she called to him, "Speak out, Martin, that they may know that we are not heretics;" and when he was not permitted to speak, moved at this, she cried out with a loud and clear voice to

the bystanders, while the executioner was binding her to the stake, "We are Christians; and what we are about to suffer is neither for theft nor murder, but because we will not believe anything in religion save what is taught in the Word of God." This, the true cause of their being committed to the burning pile, was a consolation, a ground of rejoicing to them both. The flames soon enveloped them; but amidst their violence the constancy of the martyrs remained undiminished, and lifting up their eyes to heaven, they exclaimed with one voice, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands we commend our spirits." Their martyrdom took place about eight days after that of the father and the eldest son.

Histoire des Martyrs, edit. à Genèvre, 1619, pp. 417-421. - Brandt, vol. i., pp. 108-110.





BETKEN.

MAID-SERVANT OF PETER VAN KULEN, GOLDSMITH IN BREDA.

HIS humble Christian woman was a convert to the reformed doctrines, and her Christian intelligence, conscientiousness, and intrepidity, would have done honour to the most exalted rank. Kulen himself, who had embraced the same sentiments, had long held,

with much approbation, the office of deacon or elder among the reformed in Breda, and they secretly held their meetings for the exercises of religious worship in his house, for they were not allowed to assemble publicly.

Both these worthy persons were doomed to suffer for their steadfast adherence to the truth. In spite of the circumspection Kulen
had exercised over his words and actions, his sentiments were discovered, and being accused of heresy to the authorities, he was apprehended, imprisoned, and laid in irons; and to seclude him from all
intercourse with his Christian friends, he was removed from the
common prison to the castle. He had to support himself in prison;
and his servant, Betken, brought him his food from day to day. On
these occasions she was unremitting in her endeavours to comfort
and confirm him from the Word of God. This she continued to do
without obstruction, for a period of more than nine months. At
last, however, she too was imprisoned; but so far from regretting this

as a calamity, she rather rejoiced, accounting herself happy in being called to suffer for righteousness' sake.

To extort both from her and from her master a confession of their faith, and information respecting their Christian brethren, it was resolved upon to put them to the rack. The master passed through this trying ordeal, which he appears to have endured with firmness, refusing to reveal his associates. Betken providentially escaped it. When about to have applied to her the engines of torture, she thus addressed the commissioners who had come to her for that purpose: "My masters, wherefore will you put me to this torture, seeing I have in no way offended you? Is it for my faith's sake? You need not torment me for that; for as I was never ashamed to make a confession thereof, no more will I be so now when I am before you; I will freely disclose to you my mind therein." But they wanted to extract from her more than a candid and full confession of her belief; and perceiving that her words had no effect upon them, she said, "Alas! my masters, if it be so that I must suffer this pain, then give me leave first to call upon God." This request was granted her, and so deeply affecting was her prayer, that in the midst of it one of the commissioners, convinced of her innocence, was so overwhelmed with terror at the idea of having any hand in her sufferings, that he swooned, and could not for a long time be recovered. This accident was the occasion of her escaping the torture.

Soon after, she and her master were examined at the same time. Both made confession of their faith; and neither by persuasions nor threatenings could they be induced to recant and return to the bosom of the Romish Church. They were therefore sentenced to be committed to the flames.

To witness their execution, which took place on the 29th of May, 1568, about two months from the date of the incarceration of Betken, a vast multitude assembled. Among the crowd were many of their Christian friends, who had come together, not for the purpose of gazing upon the revolting spectacle of their corporeal struggles, but to encourage them with their presence, and to be able to bear testi-

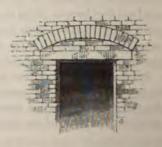
Betken.

mony to their intrepidity and constancy in death. Whilst Betken and her master were led forth to execution, strong expressions of sympathy and indignant complaints were made by the people. Several women, observing the cheerful courage and steadfastness of them both, were so greatly excited, that, disregarding the danger they might thereby incur, they broke through the crowd and embraced them, praising God for the grace given them, and crying out, "Fight manfully, for the crown is prepared for you." But no uproar was created, nor were any attempts made to force them out of the hands of the magistrates, as had been done with success in various instances in other places. Meanwhile the two martyrs earnestly besought God that he would be pleased to perfect the good work which he had mercifully begun in them, and assist them, by the power of his Holy Spirit, until they had finished their course. On reaching the place of execution. Betken began to address the people with a serene countenance, exhorting them to be always obedient to the Word of God, and not to fear those who can kill the body, but who have no power over the soul. "As for me," she added, "I am now going to meet my glorious spouse, the Lord Jesus Christ." She and her master then fell down upon their knees, and engaged in prayer with great fervour. Having risen up, they were bound with chains to the stake by the executioner, during which operation Betken, in whom was not to be seen the least symptom of fear, encouraged her master to be strong in the Lord. He was first strangled and then burned. Being more obnoxious, from her greater intrepidity and freedom in owning her sentiments, which was interpreted as a proof of her invincible obstinacy, she was denied the poor favour of being strangled before the flames had seized upon her. But her faith, if it did not literally quench the violence of the fire, gave her fortitude to endure it without shrinking; and out of the midst of the devouring element she was heard and seen, to the admiration of many of the spectators, to magnify the Lord.

The martyrdom of this female took place the year after the Duke of Alva's arrival in the Netherlands. Had it taken place somewhat

later, she would, in all probability, have been prevented by t from speaking to the people. To prevent the martyrs, whose words produced a powerful impression on the spectators, from sp at their execution, wooden balls were at first put into their n but as these sometimes slipped out, in which case the mart not fail to open their mouths and tell the people how joyful suffered for the sake of Christ, a new and a more effectual m gagging them was invented, by the infernal ingenuity of some persecutors under the administration of Alva. The tongue w screwed between two pieces of iron, and then it was seared tip with a red-hot iron, which caused it to swell to such a deg to become immoveable, and incapable of being drawn back. fastened, the tongue would wriggle about with the pain of the ing, and yield a hollow sound;" upon which, shocking as w sight, some of the friars looked with savage delight, as upon ous experiment; and to provoke mutual laughter, made remarks on the sound produced by the suffering member.1

¹ Foxe's Acts and Monuments, folio edit., vol. iii., Appendix, pp. 49, 50.-vol. i., p. 275





The Townhall, Utrecht.

ELIZABETH VANDER KERK,

WIDOW OF ADAM VAN DIEMEN.

UMEROUS as were the martyrs, female as well as male, whom the Duke of Alva more immediately made to pass through the hands of the executioner, we shall confine ourselves to a notice of the hard fate of only one lady, in 1568, namely, Elizabeth Vander Kerk, widow of Adam van Diemen, who had been some time burgomaster of the city of Utrecht. She was a lady of respectability and opulence, having an income of four thousand gilders per annum; and she was now advanced to the extreme boundary of human life, being

eighty-four years of age. Her fate affords an example of the slight pretences upon which the Netherlanders were deprived of their lives and properties during the administration of the Duke of Alva. She had not formally joined the ranks of the Reformers, though she was favourably inclined to the reformed sentiments. The only charge brought against her was, that she had harboured Mr. John Arentson, an eminent reformed minister in the Netherlands, or that she had allowed his nephew, Mr. Richard Kater, to bring him into her house. Upon this slender ground she was arrested and thrown into prison at Utrecht, the place of her residence. Hearing of her incarceration, and of the amount of her wealth, the rapacious Duke of Alva, looking with a greedy eye upon her four thousand gilders per annum, chuckled with his associates over the idea of clutching them. But how was this delightful idea to be realized? Why, by a very simple process. "She is reported to be a heretic," said they; "as such we shall put her to death, and with her life will go her estate." It was accordingly determined that she, along with three individuals of the other sex, namely, Heer Gerard van Renesse, councillor in the court of Utrecht, who was a prisoner in the castle; Adrian de Waelvan Vroonestein, and Henry Albertson, should be executed without delay.

On the 24th of August, 1568, the duke's provost arrived at Utrecht about eight o'clock in the evening, and acquainted the magistrates of that city with the commission he had received to inflict capital punishment upon this lady, and upon the three other persons just named. He also consulted with Mr. John Lent and Mr. Grysperen, two of the members of the council of blood, how he might most conveniently give effect to Alva's orders. The result was, that the four prisoners were put to death on the following day, being the 25th of August. Henry Albertson was burned alive, "obstinately persisting in his errors," as Lent and Grysperen phrase it; that is to say, intrepidly refusing to renounce his reformed principles. The other two male sufferers were beheaded; but whether this leniency, as it was accounted by the persecutors, was owing to their having renounced their heresies, or to their being reckoned less guilty than

Albertson, is uncertain. It might be thought that if compassion for Mrs. Adam van Diemen, whose withered form was bending to the dust from age, did not touch their hearts, they would have considered it hardly worth their pains to shorten her days, as she could not, in the course of nature, be long in dropping into the grave. But like the rest she was doomed to the slaughter. The form of a trial was not gone through in her case any more than in the case of the others. She was interrogated in prison whether Richard Kater, who had brought the reformed minister, Mr. John Arentson, into her house, lived with her, or whether she lived with him ? She answered that he resided with her. This admission was deemed sufficient, and upon this, her only offence, rested the sentence adjudging her to be beheaded, and declaring her estate to be confiscated. On the scaffold, thinking that her extreme old age entitled her to respect and favour, she asked one of the officers whether there was any room for mercy? He replied, "No." Upon which, shrewdly guessing the cause to be her wealth, which it had been determined to seize upon, she observed-"I know what you mean; the calf is fat, and must be killed." Her fortitude did not forsake her to the last. Turning to the executioner, she said to him, with a masculine courage, jesting upon her great age, " Is your sword sharp? for I have a very tough neck." At the block she somewhat raised her hands, and folded them in the attitude of prayer. The executioner having desired her to lower them, lest he should strike them when performing his office, the heroic sufferer, waiting for the fatal stroke, instantly cried out, "Do your business; when the head is off the fingers will feel no pain." 1

¹ Brandt, vol. i., p. 270.





CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON,

PRINCESS OF ORANGE.

HARLOTTE DE BOURBON was the fourth and youngest daughter, save one, of Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Montpensier, a prince of the blood-royal of France, by his first wife, Jaqueline de Longvic. Some account of both her parents will be given in the second

series of these biographies. Here it is only necessary to observe, that they entirely differed from each other in their religious sentiments, the father being the personification of Popish bigotry and intolerance, while the mother had sincerely and ardently embraced the reformed doctrines. The romantic history of Charlotte resulted from these two conflicting forces, the Romanism of her father and the Protestantism of her mother being brought to bear upon her destination in life, each striving, after its own manner, to mould her character and lot.

Her mother had carefully instructed her in Protestant principles, but secretly, that it might not be known to her father. The duke, however, was not altogether ignorant of the predilection of his wife for the new doctrines, and of the care she took in instilling them into the minds of their children. Partly in revenge for this offence, as he judged it, partly from blinded Popish superstition, and partly to release himself from the duty of providing for his daughters, his house having, by a combination of causes, become impoverished, he

consigned three of them, of whom Charlotte was one, to the cloister; and from his illustrious rank, he had no difficulty in procuring for her the dignity of a lady-abbess.\(^1\) At that period, and many ages before, when it was common for the most beautiful and promising daughters of kings, princes, and nobles to become the inmates of convents, the conduct of the duke, in thus disposing of his daughters, was accounted in no respect disreputable, but rather a proof of superior devotion to the holy mother church.

The life of a nun is invested by that church with peculiar sanctity. And in the dreams of sentimentalists convents may be very fine places. Poets and novelists may throw a kind of enchantment over them; for the theme is prolific with the poetical and the romantic. Their loneliness and seclusion, seldom disturbed, save occasionally by some weary pilgrim or benighted traveller—their romantic as well as secluded situations, which have evidently been selected with the view of affecting the imagination—the images of repose, of luxurious contemplation, and of impassioned reverie, tinged with a pleasing melancholy which they awaken in the mind-the grateful and welcome retreat they proffer to the religious enthusiast, the disappointed, the splenetic, or such as desire to retire from a world with which they are disgusted, and the pleasures of which they are no longer able to enjoy-the peculiar dress of the world-renouncing devotees, their " saintly habit, their beaded rosary," and their religious ceremonial, superstitious and absurd though it be-all this affords ample scope to the genius of poetry and romance; and under the magic spell of poets and novelists, sentimental mothers have devoted their daughters to the convent, and sentimental daughters have sighed for such a retreat, as they pored over some beautiful but fictitious description of the convent as the seat of poetry and art, of lettered leisure and devout contemplation, and of the nun as the bride of heaven and the spouse of the Redeemer.

But Charlotte's mother, who was neither in heart a Romanist, nor

¹ Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné, tom. ii., liv. i., p. 6.—De Thou, Histoire, tom. iv., liv. li., p. 533.

led away by the fascinating dreams of sentimentalism, was opposed, in all the feelings and sentiments of her soul, to her daughter's taking the veil. Having no belief, from her Protestant principles, in the pre-eminent sanctity of a monastic life, she shrunk at the thought of sacrificing her daughter by shutting her up in a convent, to become as dead to the external world as if she had in it neither friend nor kindred. She thought it infinitely better-and in this her judgment was in harmony at once with reason and revelation—that her daughter should be a useful member of society, should sustain and adorn the relations of life, rather than be doomed to the dormitory of a monastery, there to spend her days in lazy contemplation, in worshipping relics, in singing masses, in counting her beads, in offering up matins and vespers to the Virgin Mary. It was much more natural for her as a mother to wish that her daughter should be united in marriage to a husband suitable to her rank, and she is said to have destined her to become the wife of the Duke of Longueville.1

Like many young ladies who, to gratify the bigotry of a parent, have been compelled to become nuns, Charlotte was strongly disinclined to leave her mother, and associate herself with the sisterhood of a convent.² But it would have been vain, either for herself or for her mother, to have sought to counteract the duke's purpose. From his irritable temper, they knew well that by neither of them could domestic peace be enjoyed, were his intentions to be thwarted. Charlotte, who was now only thirteen years of age, had no alternative, and she was forced to take the vows before she had attained the age or completed the probation prescribed by the canons.³ But before setting out for the nunnery of Jouarre, in Normandy, the place of her destination, she secretly signed, under the direction of her mother, and unknown to her father, a written protestation against the extorted engagements.⁴ Her signing this document afforded some com-

¹ De Thou, Histoire, tom. iii., liv. xxviii., pp. 59, 60.

Spanheim, Mémoires de la Louise Juliane, p. 12.
 De Thou, Histoire, tom. v., liv. lx., p. 166.—Prince of Orange's Apology.

⁴ Prince of Orange's Apology.—Miss Benger's Memoirs of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, vol. i., pp. 12-14.

fort to the afflicted mother, who, as she gave her beloved daughter her parting embraces, and poured forth her fervent prayers that God would preserve, bless, and deliver her, conjured her by a mother's love to remember the protestation to which she had now affixed her name. The mother, it would appear, strongly hoped that Providence, in the course of events, might one day liberate the captive, who, friendless and unprotected as she now seemed, might yet take the place due to her rank among the dames of France, an honoured and beloved wife and mother. The hope was substantially realized, but she did not live to see its fulfilment. She died upwards of ten years before her daughter was released, without the consolation of seeing her before leaving the world.

Charlotte, as a matter of necessity, resigned herself to her fate; and though she continued in the convent for many years, she was never aught else than an unwilling captive. Upon hearing of her mother's death, she could not but feel how hard it was to have been deprived of an opportunity of attending the death-bed of her dearest earthly relative. This would recall with intenser feelings the memory of the cruel separation between them in her tender years; nor would it enhance her ideas of the comfort of a life spent within the walls of a nunnery. In her retirement and seclusion she had not forgotten her mother's last embraces, and parting blessing and advice. She remembered, too, her mother's early instructions, and cherished the faith which in secret had been imparted to her.

During the period of her residence in the convent, a great struggle was maintained between the two parties—the Romanists and the Huguenots—who then divided France. The Huguenots, who had been rapidly increasing in numbers and in strength, had been forced to take up arms in self-defence against the Romanists, who sought nothing less than the extermination of their opponents. The result was a series of disasters, involving the loss of life and property to thousands. The Huguenots were often defeated, and as often rallied under the superior military talents and wonderful resources of Admiral Colligny. Char-

lotte's judgment and feelings were all on the side of this party. The murders and massacres which deluged France with blood deeply affected her, and in proportion to her sympathy with the suffering Huguenots grew her detestation of the persecutors, and her aversion to the whole system of Popery.

Nor did she keep the reformed faith she had embraced shut up in her own breast. It was at that time no uncommon thing for the reformed doctrines to find their way into monasteries, and for abbots and abbesses to instil these doctrines into the minds of the monks and nuns under their care. The abbess of Jouarre was of this class. If she did not boldly attack the doctrines of the Popish Church, she taught her nuns the great doctrines of Christianity, which have been



Charlotte Instructing the Nuns of Jouarre.

either directly denied or grievously corrupted by Popery. In this respect she followed the counsel and example of her near relative, Jeanne Chabot, abbess of the Paraclit convent, who was particularly assiduous in instructing the nuns under her superintendence in the Protestant doctrines. That lady openly avowed her attachment to the reformed faith, though she never departed from her monastery.

except when driven from it in the height of the war against the Protestants, and she continued all her life to wear the dress of a nun.

In this useful work of instruction Charlotte continued to persevere for a long time with evident tokens of success. As years passed away she experienced an increasing disinclination to the monastic life. The dignity of lady abbess could not reconcile her to it. She became tired of the same superstitious round of Popish ceremonial, and of making confession to ghostly monks in cowl and serge, in whose power of absolution she had no faith. She equally disbelieved the common-place discourse addressed to young ladies who take the veil, which tells them "of their approaching happiness, that they will thenceforward belong to God, that by this act of devotion their eternal felicity is secured, that heaven is opening its gates to receive them."2 But her father's house was shut against her, and this, taken in connection with the consideration that she was usefully employed in instructing others, made her passively submit to a situation into which she had been forced, and which she had never ceased to regard as a sort of imprisonment.

Whether Charlotte had been winked at, or had communicated her instructions with a caution which eluded discovery, does not appear; but she continued long to prosecute her labours of love undisturbed. At length, however, from her zeal and success, she became an object of suspicion, was regarded in high quarters as a heretic, and as having been engaged in the inexpiable crime of instilling the Lutheran poison into the nuns of the convent of Jouarre. She was threatened. Proceedings were about to be instituted against her; and in those times, when the fury of the Romanists in France against the Protestants was wrought up to diabolical frenzy, even her personal safety was exposed to the utmost peril.

In these circumstances, when she was at a loss how to act, the convent of Jouarre, like similar places, which, during the course of the

¹ Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné, tom. ii., liv. i., p. 6.—De Thou, Histoire, tom. iv., liv. li., p. 533.

² Whiteside's Travels in Italy, vol. iii., p. 219.

civil wars, were exposed to the violence of arms, was invaded and thrown open by the Huguenots.1 This afforded her an opportunity of making her escape, of which she did not fail to avail herself. In the beginning of the year 1572 she quitted the convent for ever, thus taking the benefit of the protestation against the monastic life which she had signed by her mother's advice, and of which she had never repented. But whither was she to flee for safety? Where was she to find an asylum securing to her liberty of conscience? She could not go home to her father, who would not have received her unless she had at least renounced her Protestant principles. She therefore first fled to her eldest sister, Frances, who was married to Henry Robert de la Mark, Duke of Bouillon, and Seigneur of Sedan, a lady not less attached to the reformed faith than herself. From the house of her sister she was conducted to Heidelberg, the capital of the Palatinate,2 to reside with the Elector Palatine, Frederick III. a Protestant prince of great excellence of character, who welcomed and treated her with all the kindness and respect due to her illustrious rank.3

At Heidelberg Charlotte publicly abjured the Romish faith, and openly joined the ranks of the Reformers.⁴

Whither she had gone was at first unknown to her father and her friends in France. But a clue was soon found to the place of her

¹ Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné, tom. ii., liv. i., p. 6.—De Thou, tom. τ. liv. liv., pp. 5, 6; and liv. lx., p. 166.—Spanheim, Mémoires de la Louise Juliane, p. 12.

² Amidst the revolutions which the Reformation produced in Germany, the Palatinate enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity, for which it was indebted partly to the moderation of its princes, who prudently declined to join with either of the contending parties, but chiefly to the policy of Charles V., who, though he visited Lutheranism in Hesse as Saxony with the violence of persecution, overlooked the efforts of the Reformers to promulgate their tenets in the dominions of Frederick. During this happy interval the Palatinate greatly advanced in wealth, in civilization, and learning; and in the court many illustrious Huguenots found refuge from the persecution which had driven them from France.

³ De Thou, tom. iii., liv. xxviii., p. 59; and tom. v., liv. lx., p. 166.—Les Histoire du Sieur D'Aubigné, tom. ii., liv. i., p. 6.—Spanheim, Mémoires de la Louise Julies., pp. 12-15.

⁴ Bayle's Dictionary, art. "Longvie."

retreat. Her escape from the convent was deemed so important that, immediately on its becoming known, it engaged the attention of the French court. Christopher de Thou, first president of the Par-



The Town and Castle of Heidelberg.

liament, received orders to repair to the abbey of Jouarre, in order to make a particular inquiry as to what had taken place, and to make a report of the result of his inquiries to the king. Meanwhile the duke, her father, who was at that time at Aigueperse in Auvergne, received a letter from the Elector Palatine, dated 15th March, 1572, justifying the conduct of Charlotte in having followed the dictates of her conscience, and begging her father not to be offended with her on account of the steps she had taken. The duke was too zealous a Romanist, and too bitter an enemy to Protestants, to take the matter so coolly. He was mortified, not so much at his daughter's having made her escape from the convent, as at the cause which prompted

her to make it-her Protestant principles. He quite lost his temper; and in his reply to the elector, dated 28th March, he gave vent to the indignation he could not suppress. He told him that he was in despair at the intelligence which had reached him respecting his daughter, and that he could listen to no excuse. He inveighed against her irreligion, saying that, when from under the eye of her parents, she had violated the promise she had made of devoting herself to God, that she had disappointed the hopes of the whole family, and was wanting in the respect she owed to her father. He protested that he would never forgive her if she did not without delay return to France, and submit herself to the orders of the king. and to the will of her father. He begged the elector to interpose his good offices to engage her to do this, and to do to a prince, who was his friend and relative, what he would have to be done to himself in like circumstances. "Can it be at all honourable in you," he added, "to receive into your house children who have run away from their father? Is it not more worthy of you, kindly to advise them to return to their duty ?"1

It is easy to conceive the sadness and anxiety which Charlotte would experience when this letter, written in such sullen and angry mood, was put into her hands by the elector that she might read it But she could feel no just cause for self-condemnation. The reproaches cast upon her by her father, as being wanting to him in filial respect and obedience, were altogether undeserved. If a father has an absolute, incontrollable authority over his child's religious belief, according to the extravagant notions the duke had of the extent of parental authority, these reproaches were merited. But if that authority has definite limits—if it does not warrant a parent to claim to be the supreme dictator of his children's faith—to force their judgment and violate their conscience—the duke was acting tyrannically and cruelly in requiring his daughter to renounce the religious sentiments which she had been led to adopt from the exercise of her judgment upon the Word of God. Having no idea how any body

¹ De Thou, tom. iv., liv. li., pp. 533, 534.

could have scruples of conscience, he could not enter into the motives and feelings by which she was governed, and probably ascribed her conduct solely to an unfilial, wayward, self-will, prompting her to fly in the face of his authority. He could not have put a greater misconstruction on her motives and feelings. She believed and acknowledged that it was her duty to be obedient to him in things lawful. The thought of incurring his censure and frown had given her many a sore heart, and drawn from her many a bitter tear. She was anxious to be reconciled to him in any way not involving her in the betrayal of her conscience, and in sin against God, who had the first and the highest claims upon her obedience. All she desired was, that instead of being fettered by her father in matters of religion, she should be allowed to think and act in these matters for herself.

The Elector Palatine, in answering her father's letter, expressed himself with great courtesy and command of temper, but without, in any respect, giving in to his Popish intolerance. Being a Protestant he could not, he said, sympathize with the duke's feelings in regard to Charlotte's desertion of the Romish Church, a step, in his view, so far from being blameworthy, entitled to all commendation. He could not regret that a lady so eminently fitted to adorn society, had been brought out of a situation which could afford no appropriate sphere for the useful exercise of her virtues and accomplishments. He was not ignorant of the duties incumbent upon children towards their parents, and he would be the last man in the world to wound the heart of a father by throwing the shield of his protection over a disobedient child. But he could assure the duke that his daughter did not mean to offend him; that it was from deliberate inquiry and enlightened conviction, not from rashness or self-will that she had embraced the reformed opinions; and he would have him to treat her gently in a matter which ought to be left between God and her own conscience. As to the appeal made to his sense of honour, he expressed his readiness to send her back to her father, provided the king became surety that she

should be allowed the free exercise of her religion.1 The duke in whose estimation the embracing of Protestantism was the most inexpiable of all offences, and whose intolerance of heresy was stronger than his natural affection, was unmollified by the courteous and reasonable reply of the elector. Frederick wrote also to Charles IX, on the same subject, and in a similar strain, the justice of which Charles evidently felt, for talking familiarly with Admiral Colligny, he laughed at the resentment entertained by Montpensier at his daughter, calling him "brutal" and "blood-thirsty," on account of the cruelties he had committed in Anjou and in other places.2 On perusing the elector's letter, the king came to the resolution to send President M. de Thou and John d'Amount, a man of great condition, and lieutenant of Montpensier, to the Palatine court, to bring her back. When this mission was proposed, her father, in the bitterness of his displeasure, declared that if she meant to persist in the Protestant religion, he would rather that she should remain in Germany than return to France, to scandalize every body, and be the misfortune of his old age.3 The two commissioners appointed repaired to Heidelberg, and were received by Frederick with all the respect due to the ambassadors of a great monarch. They could not prevail with the young lady to return to the communion of the Romish Church; but they were fully satisfied from what they observed and heard, that she had committed no fault, and that the elector had treated her as kindly and affectionately as if she had been his own daughter. On returning to France, and making their report, the commissioners spoke of the hospitality of the elector in such high terms, that the king and her father were constrained to acknowledge that she could nowhere be more comfortable than under the protection of that excellent prince.

Being forbidden by her father to return to France, unless as

¹ Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné, tom. ii., liv. i., p. 6.—De Thou, tom. iv., liv. ii., p. 534.

Maurier's Lives of the Princes of Orange, p. 48 .- De Thou, ton. iv., hiv. h. p. 534

⁴ Spanheim, Mémoires de la Louise Juliane, pp. 12-15.

Papist, she resolved not to return at all. Painful as it was to her to be disowned by him, and earnestly as she desired to be restored to his favour, she could not comply with the only terms on which he was willing to relent without renouncing the truth of God, and professing as God's truth what she believed to be falsehood. And who will say that she acted wrong in declining to renounce the truth at the bidding even of her father? Did she not act precisely in the spirit of the apostle Paul, who declares that "when it pleased God to reveal His Son in him, immediately he conferred not with desh and blood." Did she not act in conformity with the lessons of the Saviour, who has taught us that such as would be his disciples must be prepared to lose the favour and incur the displeasure or the enmity of their nearest and dearest relations, rather than deny Him by abjuring His truth? "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." And did not that promise of the Savjour, made to such as voluntarily submit to great earthly losses in obeying him in preference to human authority, when its mandates are contrary to, and in subversion of his-did not that promise apply to her-"And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life?" But though cast off by her father she was not desolate and friendless. She continued to reside at Heidelberg, in the court of Frederick III.; and this court being at that time a school of virtue and piety, she could not have found a retreat more conducive to her moral, religious, and intellectual improvement,

During the negotiations which were going on in the first half of the year 1572 as to the marriage of Elizabeth, Queen of England, with the Duke of Alençon, an English nobleman, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, a widower, and the great favourite of Queen Elizabeth, had some thoughts of forming a matrimonial alliance with Charlotte de Bourbon. He hinted to La Mothe Fenelon, the French ambassador in London, "that if the marriage were accom-

¹ Spanheim, Mémoires de la Louise Juliane, pp. 12-15.

plished [the marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Duke of Alencon] through his good offices, he should have no objections to a noble and wealthy French match himself, and expressed a wish that the queen-mother [Catharine de Medicis, of France] would send him the portrait of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, who he knew well was in the house of the Count Palatine." Leicester does not appear to have followed out this idea.

Charlotte's father continued to brood over her disobedience. He had set himself up as the implacable enemy of the Huguenots; he had performed a conspicuous part in the war of extermination maintained against them during most of the years of her residence in the convent, and he was indignant at the idea of being now bearded by his own daughter. Subsequent attempts were made, but without success, to bring him to a more considerate and forgiving temper of mind.

As an evidence of the interest taken in her situation, it may be stated that, in 1573, when ambassadors from Poland arrived at Paris to inform Henry, Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX., that he had been elected as successor to Sigismond Augustus, their lately deceased king, having obtained an audience of Henry, those of them who were friends of the Reformation besought him, among other things, to do what he could to reconcile the Duke of Montpensier to his daughter Charlotte, who was still a refugee at the court of the Elector Palatine. But Henry, who was not inclined to interfere, eluded the request, under the pretext that it was a matter which in no respect affected Poland.²

After Charlotte had passed almost three years in the Palatine court, overtures of marriage were made to her by William, Prince of Orange. William had already been twice married. His first wife was Anne of Egmont, daughter to Maximilian of Egmont, Count of Buren and Leerdam, an heiress of extensive property. Shortly after her death he married secondly, at Leipsic, in 1561, Anne, daughter

¹ Despatches of La Mothe Fenelon, quoted in Miss Strickland's Queens of England, vol. vi., p, 391.
2 De Thou, liv. lvii., vol. v., pp. 5, 6.

of the celebrated Maurice, Elector of Saxony.1 With this wife he enjoved little domestic happiness. She was a woman of a violent, resentful temper, which often broke forth into the wildest transports; and she was unfaithful to her bridal oath. Her guilt was discovered in the spring of the year 1571, and the proofs of it were so complete that even her own relations were constrained to censure her conduct, though they wished her dishonour to be concealed.2 The prince, it would appear, now lived separated from her; but, to avoid involving himself in embarrassment by offending her relatives, and bringing shame upon the children born to him by her, he took no immediate steps for obtaining a legal divorce from her. Such were the circumstances in which he was placed when he began to think of taking to wife Charlotte de Bourbon, in whose romantic history he felt deeply interested. Her reported youth and beauty prepossessed his fancy; her connection with the house of Bourbon was flattering to his ambition; nor was he less captivated by what he had heard of the sensibility and enthusiasm, the intrepidity and gentleness so happily blended in her character, and displayed in a calm but firm and self-sacrificing devotion to Protestantism. Having resolved upon demanding her hand, he communicated his intentions to her and to the court of Heidelberg. At that court, with which he was on the very best of terms, the bad conduct of Anne of Saxony was fully known, and as a divorce would be perfectly legal and warrantable, Charlotte was disposed to lend a favourable ear to his proposals The chivalrous heroism, the illustrious career of a prince who for

1 De Thou, tom. iii., liv. xxviii., p. 87.

² De Thou, Histoire, tom. v., liv. lx., p. 166.—Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol, i., p. 316, and the authorities there quoted.—Le Clerc, vol. i., p. 46.—Baroness Blaze de Bury's Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, Princess of Bohemia, pp. 5-15. By this last writer the culpability of Anne is placed beyond all doubt, from various documents published for the first time, from the archives of the house of Orange. According to Maurier, the prince had lost her by death the year before he married Charlotte.—Lives of the Princes of Orange, p. 48. Maurier must have fallen into this mistake by writing from recollection. The death of Anne of Saxony took place in December, 1577, at Dresden, where the Elector Augustus, her nucle, had kept her.—De Thou, tom. ii., liv. xxviii., p. 87.—Baroness de Bury, p. 41.

many years had been successfully engaged in the unequal yet glorious struggle of defending his oppressed country against the might and the tyranny of Spain, then one of the most powerful kingdoms of Europe, had impressed her susceptible imagination; and smitten with a noble admiration of the hero, "she sympathized in his heroic sentiments, and passionately desired to consecrate to him that life which should seem to have been redeemed from a monastic grave."

At first various obstacles seemed to thwart the consummation of their wishes. For obvious reasons it was deemed desirable that the union should receive the approbation of Charlotte's father and of the French government, who, it was feared, might raise objections against it, on account of her extorted monastic vows. Requisite measures were taken to obtain the sanction of these parties. Application to this effect was made to the French monarch, Henry III., and his answer was so far favourable. "The king," says he, "will noways compromise himself in all this, as it is against his religion, but he thinks Mademoiselle would be very lucky to get so fine an establishment; and, all things considered, the French court would not openly object to whatever Mademoiselle should do by advice of the Elector Palatine."2 The French Parliament was also consulted, and an assembly of prelates and doctors was convoked to give judgment. After mature deliberation it was declared that the young lady was free to marry, the strictest laws of the Romish Church being in her favour, since, though she had come under some of the monastic engagements, she had not taken the final vows irrevocably binding herself to the monastic life. The consent of her father was also sought in due form, and this appeared not the least formidable obstacle in the way to the realization of the union. He was not yet reconciled to his daughter, whom he still regarded as the reproach of his house. At first he made scruples on the score of religion. but at last parental affection, and the dignity of this alliance, so far overcame his Popish perversity, that, relenting somewhat, he not

¹ Miss Benger.

² Baroness Blaze de Bury's Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, &c., p. 24.

only gave his consent to the marriage, but bestowed upon his daughter an ample portion.1

Having got clear of these difficulties, William resolved, without delay, to conclude the marriage. He therefore despatched Count Hohenlohe, and his brother, Count John, to the court of Heidelberg, to give full information of his circumstances to the Elector Palatine, the Electress, and Charlotte; and, upon their obtaining the final consent of all these parties, to make the necessary arrangements for the speedy solemnization of the marriage.

On hearing of this mission, the relatives of Anne of Saxony, the prince's former wife, were deeply offended, convined that the prince, in order to render legal his new marriage, would adopt measures for obtaining a legal divorce from Anne, whose disgrace, which they were desirous of concealing, would thus be published to the world. Her uncle, William, Landgrave of Hesse, in the utmost indignation thus writes to Count John :- "I have received yours of the 28th May [1575], announcing the arrival of the lady of Bourbon upon the banks of the Rhine; from the excuses wherewith you accompany the news, I am easily persuaded that neither you nor any one else in his senses can have counselled such a proceeding." And a few days after, in another letter to the count, he says:- "None of us can imagine what could possibly induce the prince, and that booby, St. Aldegonde, and whoever else meddled in it, to enter into such a business. If you consider the religious side of the question, why, she is a Frenchwoman, a nun, and a runaway nun to boot! You can fancy all that is said thereupon; and how it is surmised that the prince, changing his old wife for this new one, will be merely going out of the frying-pan into the fire. If personal attractions be thought of, I'll answer for a bitter disappointment, and will venture to say that when he sees her he will be frightened rather than pleased. Is the iden of perpetuating his race an argument? Surely he has got heirs and heiresses enough already." 2

Maurier, p. 43.-Spanheim, Mémoires de la Louise Juliane, pp. 12-15.

² Baroness Blaze de Bury's Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, &c., p. 17. The

Count John, afraid of the difficulties in which the prince is involved by the opposition of the Landgrave of Hesse, and of the Elector of Saxony, who was also Anne's uncle, stronglin his letters to M. de St. Aldegonde, to the Elector Palatin the prince himself, the policy of delaying the marriage, in t that a better understanding might be brought about betw brother and the houses of Saxony and Hesse. But William, less of the displeasure of his former wife's relatives, was dealist brother's entreaties and counsels.

The nuptials were celebrated on June 12, 1575, at the whither the beloved and happy bride had been conduct. Heidelberg, by the Lord de St. Aldegonde, who had been en at an early period in negotiating as to the marriage.²

In several of the German courts, particulary in those t Anne of Saxony was related, William, and especially Charlot now the subjects of free animadversion. But the stories pro to her, circulated by these courts, were happily mere sland offspring of ill-will or of a love for idle gossip. Being well of this, Count John, who, though from motives of policy strongly urged the delay of the marriage, had never any of to Charlotte personally, now, when she had become his b wife, generously came forward as her defender. "As to the against the prince's present wife, raised at the diet of Ra writes he to the Landgrave of Hesse, in November, 1575, only be laid to the account of downright calumny. T sons who come daily from Holland, and, above all, those w prince had already, by Anne of Egmont, a son, named Philip William, who a succeeded him, and a daughter, Mary, who was married to Philip, Count of H. and by Anne of Saxony, Maurice, afterwards Prince of Orange, and Emilia, ried Emmanuel, son of Anthony, King of Portugal, who was dethroned by of Spain.-Maurier, pp. 124, 125.

1 This marriage certainly proved prejudicial to himself in various ways, by from him powerful families in Germany, who were formerly his friends; nor a prejudicial to his successors and descendants. On these grounds the Baror de Bury pronounces it to have been impolitic, but, adds she, "that it was striand legitimate, according to the tenets of the reformed charch, is beyond a sion."

2 De Thou, tom. v., liv. kz, p. 166.—Maur

been enabled to stay the longest in the neighbourhood of the princess, report of her, thank God, very different things, and pay her a very high tribute of praise. In order that your lordship may learn better to appreciate her grace, and may also discover what, in some degree, perhaps, will have served as a basis for the calumny in question, I send you, in the original, a letter she wrote some days since to my mother." 2

During the few years that this union lasted Charlotte enjoyed an uncommon degree of domestic felicity. She and William resembled each other not a little in their general character, in their generosity and benevolence, in their sympathy for the suffering, in their affability and condescension towards the humblest, in their enthusiastic devotion to the cause of Protestantism and of liberty. It delighted her to think that she was not, as might have been the case had she returned to France, the wife of a man who, however high his rank, was wedded to Poperv, and whose hands were red with Protestant blood. She loved the prince with an attachment bordering on the idolatrous, and he requited her affection with tenderness and fidelity. Writing to him on the 4th of September, 1577, he being then in Brussels, she says :- "Take care of yourself; I implore you to be more solicitous for your health than you have shown yourself within these few days, for on yours depends mine, and, after God, you dispose of my happiness. My lord, therefore, I pray the Almighty, that, in the midst of such labours and anxieties as yours, he will preserve you through a long and happy life."3

^{1 &}quot;Whatever this particular report might be," says the Baroness Blaze de Bury, "does not appear, and is nowhere further specified."

^{2 n} Unfortunately," says the same authoress, "this letter is not amongst those already collected, as it was probably never returned by the landgrave."—Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, &c., pp. 38, 39.

^a Baroness Blaze de Bury's Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, &c., p. 39. "Many,"

says this authoress, "are the letters the archives of the house of Orange possess of

Charlotte de Bourbon; and there are none which do not bear witness to her purity of

mind, her gentleness, and unbounded devotion to her lord." She adds, "Her letters

to William's mother, the Countess Juliana, are touchingly beautiful, from their sweet

submissiveness, and the tender filial love they breathe in every line."

The virtues, good understanding, and endearing qualities of Charlotte had the happiest influence upon the prince, and gained her the esteem and admiration of all about her. "The prince," says Count John, in a letter to Count Schonenburg, "looks so well, and is of such good courage, in spite of the small comfort he enjoys, and the extent of his troubles, his labours, and his perils, that you would hardly believe it, and would be immensely rejoiced thereat. Of a surety it is a most precious consolation and a wondrous relief, that God should have given him a wife so distinguished by her virtue, her piety, her vast intelligence—in a word, so perfectly all that he could wish; in return, he loves her tenderly."

The princess obtained the good graces even of Elizabeth, the maiden Queen of England, who sent her, on the occasion of her second confinement, a present, and became sponsor for the new-born infant, which was named Elizabeth. In reference to this gift from the English sovereign, Charlotte thus writes to the prince:—"My lord, I have received the present it has pleased you to send me on the part of the queen, and have found it very pretty and ingenious. As to the signification of the lizard—as it is said when any sleeping person is near being stung by a serpent, the lizard waketh him—I fancy, my lord, that you are meant thereby, you having awakened the States of Holland, fearing lest they should be destroyed. God's grace grant that you may preserve them from the serpent!" 2

Among Papists it was easy to excite violent prejudice against a nun for having married, and against the man who had taken her to wife. To render William odious for having married the nun of Jouarre, the King of Spain, in the proscription he published in June, 1580, against William, outlawing him, giving his life, his body, his

¹ Baroness Blaze de Bury's Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, &c., p. 46.

² Ibid., p. 43.

It was dated Madrid, 15th March, 1580, and sent to the Duke of Parma, then governor of the Low Countries, with orders to publish it through the whole extent of his government; but the duke delayed its promulgation until the month of June following, and affirmed in his circular letter that he did it only after having received pressing and repeated orders to that effect from the king.—Les Delices des Pays-Bss. 6th edition, à Liege, 1769, tom. v., pp. 5, 6.

estate to whoever could seize on them, and promising, "upon the word of a king, and as a minister of God," 25,000 crowns to whoever should bring him, dead or alive, to his majesty—in this document the Spanish monarch not only denounces him for having introduced the reformed religion into the Low Countries, but brands him as a rebel, a disturber of the public peace, a wicked and perjured man, the source of all the troubles of the Netherlands, the plague of Christendom, the common enemy of mankind, a heretic, a hypocrite, a Cain, a Judas, one that had a hardened conscience, a profane wretch, who had taken a nun out of the cloister to marry her, and had children by her. This last imputation was inflicting a double wound—it was stigmatizing both the prince and his wife, as living in unlawful concubinage.

From such a charge William and the princess required at that time no vindication in the Low Countries, which, having thrown off the Papal authority and the Popish doctrines, were disposed, instead of censuring, to honour ladies who, whether they had been trepanned or forced into taking the veil, had had the determination to break loose their fetters, and assert the liberty given them both by nature and revelation. But in his eloquent and triumphant apology or vindication in answer to this proscription,2 dated 4th February, 1581 and which he caused to be printed in Flemish and in French, and sent to all the courts of Europe, William, indignant at this attack upon his own and his wife's virtue, severely retaliated on the Spanish monarch, whose character was so thoroughly bad, that it had been prudent in him not to have attempted to blacken the reputation of a prince who, whatever might be his faults, was free from the flagrant crimes which have rendered that monarch one of the most infamous characters recorded in history. In this document William states that slanderers ought to be free from all blame, and that it is an unaccountable impudence in the king, who is all covered over with crimes, to reproach him with a marriage which was lawful and

¹ Maurier, pp. 74, 75.

Maurier has given the substance of the vindication, pp. 75-101.

agreeable to the Word of God. He maintains that Philip was actually married to Donna Isabella Osorino, and had three children by her at the time when he married the Infanta of Portugal, mother to Don Carlos; that he murdered his own son for speaking in favour of the Low Countries, and poisoned his third wife, Isabella, daughter to Henry II. of France, while in the lifetime of that princess he publicly kept as his mistress Donna Euphratia, whom, when she was pregnant by him, he forced the Prince of Ascoti to marry, that his bastard might inherit the great estate of that prince, who died of grief, if not of a morsel more easy to swallow than to digest; that afterwards he was not ashamed to commit public incest by marrying his own niece, the daughter of Maximilian, the emperor, by his sister. "But," says the king, "I had a dispensation." "Yes," replies the prince, "but only from the god on earth; for the God of heaven would never have granted it." The prince therefore argues, that it was as strange as it was intolerable for a man blackened with adultery, murder, incest, and parricide, to make a crime of a marriage approved of by Monsieur de Montpensier, his father-in-law, a more zealous Catholic than the Spaniards were, with all their grimaces and pretensions. He adds, that if his wife had made vows in her tender age, this was contrary to the canons and decrees of the Romish Church, according to the opinion of the ablest men; and that, though she had never made any protestations against these extorted vows, he was not so little versed in the Holy Scriptures as not to know that all engagements of that sort had no force in the sight of God.1

In the cup of earthly enjoyment there are always some bitter ingredients. Happy as Charlotte was in the prince to whom she was united, she frequently suffered from delicate health, to which, however, "she seldom alludes, except as it happens to militate for or against some plan connected with him or his movements." In the year 1576, when residing at Delft, she is obliged, from the state of her health, to refuse going out to meet the prince, who had

¹ Maurier, pp. 80, 81.

been for some time absent from her. "The Sire de Viry," says she, "has imparted to me your commands that I should go to meet you, but I am unhappily too weak. I must wait at least six or eight days, during which time I can, if it pleases God, take the air as far as the Hague, in order to see what I am equal to." And on the 3d of April she thus writes:—"Respecting my state, I have at moments apprehended danger, which annoyed me, on account of your absence; but now I have no more apprehension, but hope, on the contrary, with God's help, for a return of good health. I have from time to time fits of faintness—a weakness to which I am, as you know, subject, but I hope that will also cease."

The numerous personal dangers which beset the prince's path also occasioned her no small anxiety. Not only was he surrounded with the perils necessarily incident to war, but he was exposed to the risk of being assassinated by the unprincipled emissaries of Spain and Rome, hurried on to the perpretation of the horrid deed by a relentless fanaticism, as well as by a tempting bribe-the price set upon his head. He himself was not insensible to these dangers; but he was exempt from the restlessness, suspicion, and stern character almost invariably acquired by public men whose lives are constantly threatened by the dagger of some assassin. He had uniformly consulted the good of his country in preference to his own particular interests; and in his career, when most triumphant, he had never been wantonly cruel, and had never betrayed haughtiness or insolence of demeanour. His lofty patriotism, therefore, an approving conscience, and, crowning all, well-founded Christian hope, composed his mind in an uncommon degree in the midst of threatened dangers. 3 But the princess, from feminine softness, was more susceptible to alarming impressions, and especially after he had been proscribed by the Spanish monarch. What she dreaded was attempted, and and well nigh with fatal issue, in 1582.

¹ Baroness Blaze de Bury's Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, &c., pp. 44, 45,

² He took for his device a sea-gull, with the motto, "Sævis tranquillus in undis," i.e., "andisturbed in the midst of the stormy waves."—Maurier, p. 114.

In that year John de Jaureguy, a young man aged about years, a Spaniard of Biscay by birth, who served in a bank werp, was instigated by the master of the bank, Gaspard d'A also of Spanish birth, to attempt the destruction of the I Orange. Annastro, being on the verge of bankruptcy, hoped large reward offered by the Spanish monarch, to retrieve hi fortunes; and to satisfy his conscience as to the lawfulnes deed, he had, according to his own account, consulted the p Spain, who assured him that whoever should assassinate t scribed heretic would perform a highly meritorious action ceiving that it would not be difficult to engage Jaureguy desperate enterprise, and judging that, from his gloomy and o temper, if once engaged, he would not shrink from the ha its execution, Annastro sent for him, and, in a state of gretion, disclosed to him his bloody project. "Did I not kno Annastro, "your fidelity, your constancy, and your sincere would not address myself to you in the present unhappy sta public affairs and of my own. You see my eyes quite soaked with weeping, and I believe you are not ignoran cause; for it is long since I noticed how sensible you are to rages done to our sovereign, and how, though born in Spain as I, you do not fail to be touched with the calamities of th vinces, which are to us as an adopted country." Then repr the prince as the cause and author of all these calamities, l to the disclosure of his daring purpose. "This man," says must destroy, if we would discharge our duty to God, to t and to the country. The king promises great rewards, but moved by these-though they may be useful in the present my affairs, and also of yours-than by the duty which or imposes upon us." On concluding this speech he burst in and believing that Jaureguy, from his manner and fixed loc ally entered into the conspiracy, Annastro fell upon the ne youth, and warmly embraced him. Jaureguy immediately with an intrepid air, "I am quite prepared; I am now con

a design I have long ago meditated. I despise the danger and the conditions; I desire no reward, for I am resolved to die. I only ask of you one favour—to pray God, on my account, to incline the king to be kind to my father, and not to leave the old man to die in misery."

Everything being arranged, Jaureguy was to carry his desperate purpose into execution on Sabbath, the 18th of March. On the morning of that day a Dominican monk, named Timmerman, came to confess him in the house of Annastro. The monk, who, like the Spanish priests whom Annastro had consulted, approved of Jaureguy's design, as his motives were not avarice, but the glory of God, the service of the king, and the good of his country, fortified him in his resolution, persuaded him that he should go invisible, for which end he gave him some characters in paper, frogs' bones, and other magical charms, administered to him absolution, and subsequently the mass, as a sure passport to heaven should he lose his life in the enterprise. Jaureguy, besides, "carried about him, in the fashion of an amulet, prayers, in which he invoked the merciful Deity, who appeared to men in the person of Christ, to aid the murder with his favour, promising that Being a part of the booty, as it were, should the deed be successful, viz., for the mother of God of Bayonne a garment, a lamp, and a crown; for the mother of God of Aranzosu a crown; and for the Lord Christ himself a very rich curtain!" Such is Jesuit morality; for Timmerman and Jaureguy acted not merely from the impulse of their own fanatical dispositions, but in conformity with the explicit doctrines of Jesuitism, which, upon the principle that the end sanctifies the means, have baptized murder, when the good of the church may be thereby promoted, as a meritorious action, and taught the murderer to believe, as he passed, his hands reeking with the blood of his victim, into the presence of his judge, that the atrocious deed had merited for him the kingdom of heaven.

Protected by so many mysterious charms, and having drunk a 1 Ranke's Hist. of the Popes, book v. glass of foreign wine, Jaureguy went to the castle of Antwerp, the residence of the Prince of Orange, accompanied by Timmerman, who continued to exhort him and to confirm him in his resolution, until they arrived at the foot of the stairs of the prince's court, where the ghostly father, having given him his blessing, left him and went away. The prince had attended sermon at the chapel in the morning, and on returning to the castle had sat down to dinner with the princess, his children, many of the nobility, and persons of quality. Jaureguy, who had succeeded in getting even into the dining chamber, being taken, from his French dress, for the servant of some French nobleman present, repeatedly pressed to get near the person of the prince, but was always repulsed. When, on dinner being ended, the prince, as he was passing, attended by the company, from the hall to his withdrawing chamber, stopped to show the Count of Laval the tapestry, in which were wrought the cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the Netherlands, Jaureguy, who was watching in the hall, now found a more favourable opportunity for executing his purpose. The guards, observing him, would have put him out, but were prevented by the prince, who reprimanded them, saying that it was some citizen who wished to see him; a courtesy which proved nearly fatal to his life. Presenting a pistol above the shoulder of the Count of Laval, the assassin fired upon the prince with effect. The bullet having entered at the throat, under his right ear, passed through the palate, under the upper jaw, and went out by the left cheek, near the nose, breaking one, some say several of his teeth, but leaving the tongue untouched. The prince was stunned with the wound, and thought, as he afterwards declared to Philip Du Plessis Mornay, that the house had fallen, and buried him in its ruins. Immediately after, he became so weak that he would have fallen, had he not been supported. Having recovered from his stupor, he suspected, from the agitation and muttering of those about him, and from observing the hair of his head singed, and his ruffle burned, which had been caused by the fire of the pistol, in consequence of the weapon having been fired so near him, that

an attempt had been made on his life. But the generous and noblehearted William begged them to spare the assassin, adding, "I forgive him with all my heart." The ruffian, however, had been already despatched. The noblemen and gentlemen who were in the chamber, and the body-guard, unable to control themselves, had instantly and simultaneously rushed upon him, and put an end to his life by many wounds inflicted with their swords.

The prince, who was of a robust and healthy constitution, rapidly rallied. The fire of the pistol, from the nearness of the weapon to its victim, having entered with the bullet into the wound, had cauterized the jugular vein, and consequently stanched the blood. But on the tenth day the scar which had formed on the wound fell off, and the blood began to flow anew so abundantly as to threaten immediate dissolution, baffling all the attempts employed to stop it. In this emergency, Leonard Botal, physician of the Duke of Brabant, advised that the bleeding should be stopped by a continued pressure of the thumb on the wound. But this means, notwithstanding its being employed by a succession of attendants for several days, would, without the intervention of an accidental circumstance, have failed to save the prince's life; for though the pressure kept the wound closed on the outside, the bleeding continued to go on internally, and to such an extent that Du Plessis Mornay, as he informs us, one morning saw the prince vomit more than five pounds of blood. The true cause of the preservation of his life was the stoppage of the bleeding by a small portion of lint, softened by a little ointment. which the physicians had inadvertently pushed farther into the wound than they intended, and which they had in vain endeavoured to take out. After some days, nature, with a little assistance, drove it back, when at the end of it was found a little white pus, a proof that the vein was closed.2

This unforeseen attempt on the prince's life gave a severe shock to the sensitive frame of the princess. She rushed to the spot

De Thou, tom. vi., liv. lxxv., pp. 178-181.—Grimeston's History of the Netherlands,
 pp. 676, 677.
 De Thou, tom. vi., liv. lxxv., pp. 182, 183.

where he was the moment she knew that he had been wounded, she fainted at the sight of his blood. Relief was afforded to mind by the favourable appearance which his wound soon bega assume, and which it continued to present for several days, she was again plunged into distress by the sudden re-opening o wound on the tenth day, and the violent rushing forth of the b threatening his immediate dissolution. During the several days the vein was closely compressed by some attendant, she assidue waited upon him, assisted by the Countess of Schwartzenburg



Charlotte tending the wounded Princes

sister, who never quitted his apartment. Nor did she cease this devoted ministry of affection till the danger appeared ave and the prince was restored to her prayers and the supplication his people.

When the prince appeared past danger, and on the fair way of very, she sent the following letter—the last she ever wrote—to C

¹ De Thou, tom. vi., liv. lxxv., p. 183.

John, the prince's brother: "Monsieur, my brother,-As your secretary is going back to you, I would not omit to write in order to recall myself to your good graces, and assure you that I have never for an instant ceased thinking of you and of the countess, my sister. For this long time past, however, I have given you no assurance to that effect by my letters; I have much neglected my duties, because I hope you are good enough not to doubt my sentiments, and also because my daughter, Madame d'Orange,1 gives you regularly news of us all. These news, alas! have been latterly extremely bad, from the wound of my lord the prince, your brother; and several times he has passed through such alternations and dangers on account of this cut vein, that, according to human foresight, he was nearer death than life. But God in his mercy has miraculously assisted us when our hope was at an end. The blood has ceased to flow for fourteen days, the wound has become better every hour, and yesterday morning there came out a tent that the surgeons had pushed into the wound the day he bled for the last time, and that had lain there ever since. The wound heals now so well and naturally that we have no doubt of his recovery, with the aid of God's grace, for which I pray with all my heart, as I also pray, Monsieur my brother, that he may give you good health and a long and happy life, wherewith I commend myself to your good graces. Your very humble "CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON. and obedient sister,

"From Antwerp, 12th April, 1582."2

On the 2d of May, a solemn thanksgiving was observed in the church of Antwerp for the recovery of the prince. Charlotte and William were present, and from her inmost soul she united in the outpourings of gratitude presented by the minister to the hearer of prayer in name of the vast multitude assembled. But her constant anxiety and watching, the agonizing suspense, the alternations of hope and fear she had every moment experienced, from the time he was wounded till his recovery was placed beyond doubt, brought

¹ Mary of Nassau, later Countess of Hohenlohe.

Baroness Blaze de Bury's Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, &c., p. 50.

on a dangerous illness. Her disease was pleurisy. She passed direct from the church to the bed of death. Nor did she regret falling a victim to the unceasing care and vigilance by which she had brought back William from the gates of death; "too happy," says Spanheim, "to have sacrificed her remaining days to preserve an existence far dearer than her own; and having once raised her eyes with thankfulness to heaven, she closed them for ever." Believing her end approaching, she devoted herself to earnest preparation for another world. She was surrounded by kind, sympathizing, and pious friends. But, perhaps, from no individual did she derive more spiritual comfort than from Lady Philip Du Plessis Mornay, a woman distinguished for enlightened and fervent piety, who was present with her during the whole of her illness. "The princess," says Mornay, "died in a very Christian manner. My wife attended her to the last, and she observed, what is a very uncommon circumstance, that some hours after the princess had breathed her last, a bleeding at her nose commenced, which continued for two hours." She died on the 5th of May, deeply regretted by her husband, and indeed by all; her gentle and winning graces, and her benevolent, charitable disposition having made her universally beloved; and the strongest sympathy was evinced by the people with William under his bereavement. Four days after her death, her corpse, attended by more than twelve hundred persons in mourning, was carried with great pomp to the cathedral of Antwerp,1 and was there interred in the chapel of the Circumcision.2

On the 29th of May, 1582, three weeks after his loss, the prince, in a short letter to the Prince de Condé, thus writes:—"Although I have suffered the nearest loss of all in my wife, I cannot, for many reasons, avoid acknowledging that some other persons have also partaken in my bereavement, on account of the great affection which

¹ The cathedral church of Notre-Dame of Antwerp is a vast and wonderful structure. It contains a great number of chapels, enriched with marble columns, and adorned with beautiful paintings by different masters.—Les Dilices des Pays-Bas, tom. 1, pp. 263, 264.

² De Thou, tom. vi., liv. lxxv. pp. 182, 183.

she bore them; and for you, sir, I can assure you, you have lost a good friend and relative, who honoured and loved you as much as she did any one."1

The princess left behind her six daughters, all of whom, except one, were honourably married, and had numerous descendants :- 1st, Louise Juliane de Nassau, the eldest, whose life will form the subject of a subsequent sketch. This princess was married to Frederick IV., Elector Palatine, by whom she had Frederick V., Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia. This Frederick married Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I. of England; and from them her majesty Queen Victoria, who now sways the British sceptre, is descended.—(See next page.) 2d, Elizabeth de Nassau, who was married to Henry de la Tour Duke of Bouillon, a famous general in the wars of Henry IV. of France, on the 15th of May, 1594, after the death of his first wife, Charlotte de la Mark. She left two sons and four daughters, who had also children. "She was living," says Maurier, "in the year 1641, and I saw her in the castle of Sedan, after the battle wherein the Count de Soissons was killed." 3d, Catharine Belgique, who married Philip Louis, Count of Hanau, a nobleman near Frankfort-onthe-Maine, "from whom," says Maurier, "besides the Counts of Hanau, is descended Amelia Elizabeth, wife to that generous William, Landgrave of Hesse, who died in the year 1637, after whose death this princess, a woman of a masculine courage, continued to carry on the war against the Imperialists, and pursued the steps of her husband, who, after the peace of Prague (where most of the Protestant princes forsook their allies and joined with the house of Austria), had the courage and resolution to make head, almost alone, against so formidable a power." 4th, Charlotte Brabantine de Nassau, wife to Claude, Duke de la Trimouille and de Thouars, Count de Laval, by whom she had also descendants. 5th, Charlotte Flandrine de Nassau, who embraced the Popish religion, and died Abbess of St. Croix, in "She was a very good princess," says Maurier, "I knew her, but she was little, and so deaf that she could not hear without

Baroness Blaze de Bury's Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, &c., p. 47.

THE PERSON OF THE PERSON IN THE PERSON OF TH mention, house of theoretic Londonna Portional House Wrights Bristers and Brughter and between A Berrye William, Inch. II. b. Oet, = Wittensature. Cancium, doughter to William Frederick, j. d. Oet, 26, 1 Margrave of Brandenburg-Anguela. of Zalla.

FREETHER - LAWIN, — AUGUSTA, youngest daughter of Frederick Friese of Wales 1. H., Duke of Saze-Cotha.

Okonos, III., b. June = Sovura-Chantorry, daughter 4, 1738, d. Jun. 29, of Charles-Frederick, Prince 1829, EDWAND, Duke of Kent; = Vicronia - Maria-b. Nov. 2, 1767; d. Jan. | Louisa, daugitor of Francia, Duke of Save-Coburg-Saulfield. d. June 20, 1837, at surviving lasts.

GURRN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IGRIAND. VICTORIA L.

NETHEBLANDS.

Charlotte de Bourbon.

a little silver trumpet." 6th, Æmilia de Nassau, wife to Fre-Casimir, Count Palatine of the branch of Duponts, called the of Lansberg.¹ Such was the illustrious progeny of this frabbess, who had the good sense, as well as the Christian princibelieve that to become a wife and a mother was to adopt a life rational, more Christian, than the indolent, the useless, and, too frequently, the impure life of the inmates of a convent.

¹ Maurier, pp. 126, 130-134.





LOUISE DE COLLIGNY.

LADY TELIGNY, AFTERWARDS PRINCESS OF ORANGE

OUISE DE COLLIGNY was the daughter of Gas-

pard Colligny, Lord of Chatillon, and Admiral of France, by his first wife, Charlotte de Laval, daughter of Guy de Laval, by his wife, Antoinette de Daillon.1 Her father, one of the noblest characters and truest patriots which France ever produced, had attached himself to the cause of the Reformation from convictions of duty, not from motives of faction, and to its advancement he deliberately devoted his talents. the best years of his life, his worldly substance and prospects, and at last his life. Her mother was a lady of corresponding spirit. Her self-denied devotion to the reformed cause almost exceeded that of her husband, whom she encouraged to gird on his armour to defend it, expressing her willingness to submit to the loss of whatever men count dear for its sake. Her piety was displayed in her whole deportment, especially in the arrangements of her domestic establishment, which were formed on the resolution expressed by the Hebrew patriarch, "As for me and my house we will serve the Lord;" and she abounded in works of beneficence and mercy. Louise was born in the year 1553. She received the finished education bestowed at

¹ Notice sur Brantôme et sur ses Ouvrages, prefixed to his Oeuvres, edit. Paris, 1822, tom. i., p. 36.—Lady Colligny's sister, Louise de Daillon, was Lady-Dowager of La Chateigueraie, and maid of honour to Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre.

that time upon the daughters of the nobility of France, and was carefully instructed in the principles of the reformed faith. Both her parents, much as they had suffered in those trying times in their estate, as well as in other respects, in advancing the cause of the Reformation, desired to see her its intelligent and steadfast adherent, even at the sacrifice of earthly advantages. They taught her to seek after a better inheritance than this world can give, to be prepared to suffer the loss of all things for the sake of Christ, not to shrink from casting in her lot with the people of God, though at the risk of poverty, contempt, persecution, and death. In a letter which her father wrote, towards the close of the year 1569, to her and her brothers, and the children of his recently deceased brother, Francis D'Andelot, who were then at Rochelle, after he had been defeated at the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour in the same year, after the spoliation of his property by the government, and the immense pecuniary losses he had sustained in carrying on the warin this letter we have a beautiful specimen of the precious instructions by which her understanding was enlightened and her Christian character formed.

"I could much have wished to say to you in person what I now write, and also to see you, but that not being possible at present, I have thought it right to exhort you ever to bear in mind the love and fear of God; and the more as experience may have already taught you that we ought not to account ourselves secure in the possession of what is called property, but ought to place our confidence elsewhere than in this world, and to have better possessions than our eyes can see or our hands touch. But as this is not in our own power, we ought humbly to beseech God to be pleased to conduct us to the last, along that good and safe path which we must not expect to be smooth and pleasant, or accompanied with all sorts of temporal prosperity. We must follow our head, Jesus Christ, who himself leads the way. Men have deprived us of all that it was in their power to take from us, and should it be God's will that we should never recover what we have lost, still we shall be happy, and

our condition will be a good one, inasmuch as these losses have not arisen from any harm done by us to those who have brought them upon us, but solely from the hatred which they bear towards me for its having pleased God to make use of me in assisting His church. And notwithstanding that in this case we suffer losses and inconveniences, we are well off, and shall receive a reward of which men will not have it in their power to deprive us.

"Had I leisure I should like to write to you about several other matters, but for the present let it suffice that I admonish you and conjure you in God's name courageously to persevere in the study of virtue, and to testify, both by your actions and your words, through the whole course of your lives, the horror you entertain for every kind of vice. Obey your master and your superiors in such wise that though I may rarely enjoy the satisfaction of being present with you, I may often hear at least of your good and honourable behaviour. To conclude; if it be the will of God that we should suffer some loss, whether in person or property, in the cause of that religion by which he desires to be worshipped, we ought to account ourselves fortunate. And I do assuredly beseech Him to be assisting to you, to keep you in his protection, and to preserve you in your tender years. Adieu. From Xaintes, this 16th of October, 1569.

"CHASTILLON."

"The admiral," says Maurier, "loved Louise very much, both for her modesty and prudence." Nor was she without the charms of personal beauty. Though she was of low stature, "her form," as the same writer testifies, "was exquisitely symmetrical, her eyes very beautiful, and her complexion lovely;" while her manners were highly graceful, and her conversation eminently attractive.²

In disposing of his daughter in marriage, the admiral, though not indifferent to her forming a connection with a noble family, was more desirous to have her united to a young man of high character,

2 Maurier's Lives of the Princes of Orange, p. 137.

¹ Anonymous French Memoirs of Admiral Colligny, translated by Dundas Scott, Esq., pp. 141-143.

combined with rare accomplishments, than to one of merely high rank and great wealth. And among all the persons of quality belonging to his religion and party, he found none of whom in these respects he formed so high an opinion as of Charles de Teligny, son of Louis de Teligny, a famous military officer in the wars in Italy.1 Young Teligny, though descended from an honourable family, was without title and fortune, his father, who was yet living, having wasted by his extravagance the rich patrimony which he had inherited from his ancestors. But he was possessed of much personal merit, had maintained an unblemished reputation, was surpassed by few in letters and in arms, excelling especially in the delicate arts of negotiation, and uniting valour with the most engaging mental qualities, which gained him the esteem and affection of all who knew him, and even of the French monarch, to whom he always seemed more welcome and agreeable than any of the nobility. From the love of true religion and liberty, he had joined the ranks of the Reformers, and distinguished himself by his zealous advocacy of the reformed cause. From his ability and prudence he was admitted into the counsels of his party, with whose affairs he was thoroughly acquainted, and gave promise, should his life be spared, of becoming one of its most enterprising and influential leaders.2

A warm affection having sprung up between Teligny and Louise, the admiral encouraged the hopes they had mutually formed of being one day united in happy wedlock. "You may have other suitors rich and titled," said he to his daughter; "but I advise you to choose Teligny for your husband, as more worthy of your affection than those who have higher adventitious pretensions, on account of the good and rare qualities which I know him to possess. I give you this counsel, because I think it will contribute to your happiness

Maurier's Lives of the Princes of Orange, p. 137 .- Esprit de la Ligne, liv. iv.-

Brantôme, Oeuvres, tom. ii., p. 102.

¹ Louis de Teligny, besides Charles, had a daughter, Margaret, who was married to Francis de la Noue, a distinguished military officer among the Protestants in the civil wars in France, and called Bras-de-Fer, because, having lost his arm in an engagement, he substituted an artificial one of iron —Brantôme, Oeuvres, tom ii., p. 100.

in life, which we ought rather to seek in all things than great possessions and dignified titles." In this Colligny acted with the same spirit of disinterested disregard to mere worldly considerations which he so remarkably displayed in his whole career. Louise was married to Teligny at the town of Rochelle, in 1571, on the same day on which her father, who had now been a widower four years, was married to his second wife, Jacqueline of Entremont, widow of Claude de Batarnai, Baron of Anton, who was killed at the battle of St. Dennis.²

Louise was not long married when she became a widow. Her husband, like her father, perished in the St. Bartholomew massacre. He had previously received warning of some secret impending danger. It was told him that porters loaded with arms had been seen entering the Louvre, and that this seemed to be an alarming omen. But unwilling, from the natural generosity of his character, to call in question the good faith of the court, which had been pledged to the Huguenots in the most solemn manner, he would not believe that he and his party were exposed to any danger, and despised the premonition. "It is very wrong," said he, "to multiply suspicions, in the distressing circumstances in which we are placed. Let nothing be said to the admiral: these arms are intended to attack, by way of recreation, a fort erected within the Louvre." Never was confidence more misplaced. The massacre of the Protestants, including himself, had been resolved upon by the court. It is, indeed, affirmed by some writers, that Catharine de Medicis, notwithstanding her mortal hatred of the admiral, and that the king, her son, had great difficulty in consenting to the death of Teligny, who, in his intercourse with them had gained the good-will of both, by his good qualities and his honourable conduct, "which," as Maurier

¹ Mrs. Marsh's Protestant Reformation in France, vol. ii., p. 273.—" He gave him his daughter in marriage," says Brantôme, "a very beautiful and accomplished lady, who might have got a more advantageous match; but he was pleased to choose such a son-in-law, having a regard rather to Teligny's perfections than to his means."—Ocurres, tom. ii., p. 102.

² De Thou, Histoire, tom. iv., liv. 1., p 490.—Anonymous Memoirs of Colligny, p. 152.

observes, "shows that virtue is always attractive, from whencesoever it proceeds, and that it has uncommon charms to make itself admired and favoured, though in the person of an enemy." But if they felt some reluctance to include Teligny among those who were counted as sheep for the slaughter, so entirely had they yielded themselves up to their furious passions, that he was notwithstanding included. On the fatal day, when a party of murderers invaded his lodgings, he escaped their pursuit by betaking himself, along with Merlin, Colligny's minister, to the tiles of the house. In this extremity of peril he was not in a condition calmly to reflect. But among the thoughts which now passed in hurried confusion through his mind, he could not help reproaching himself for the confidence he had reposed in the perfidious court. The hard fate of his father-in-law, who by this time was a mangled corpse, was unknown to him, but he had reason to conjecture the worst; and what, perhaps, caused his intensest agony, the most vehement, the most terrific struggle in his bosom, was the image of his Louise rising up before his mind, the image of that beloved object to whom he had so recently plighted his faith—their connubial happiness blighted, terminated for ever at the close of a few months-the cup, when just tasted, dashed from their lips. But he had not long time to think. Some courtiers who saw him traversing the roofs of the houses with Merlin,2 though they had been ordered to kill him, had not the heart to do so, such was the affection with which, from his amiable character, he was regarded. After this he was discovered on the loft of the house of the Sieur de Chasteauneuf by some soldiers, who asked his name, and left him. But at last the Duke of Anjou's guards finding him, killed him,

1 Maurier, p. 138.

² Merlin's preservation was very extraordinary. In attempting his escape over the roofs of the adjoining houses, he fell into a loft filled with hay. Here he lay concealed for many days, but must have perished from hunger had it not been for the singular circumstance, that a hen, as if guided by the same Providence which of old sent the ravens to feed Elijah, laid, every day, her egg "in his hand."—Les Histoires du Sieur D'Aubigné. Merlin is, with much probability, supposed to be the author of the anonymous Life of Admiral Colligny, translated from the original French by Dundas Scott, Esq.



law and her brothers.2 Intel husband, of the atrocities of S the carnage committed upon the was soon conveyed to Chatillor into a state of indescribable upon Louise. She sustained father and of a husband, the re heart, and their loss by such a by the butchers of Paris. In mind she sometimes thought, blow of some terrible calamity only for a moment, and, the revived to a realization of al which was confirmed by proofs was made to bear the yoke in Amidst the agony of their g had to consult their personal

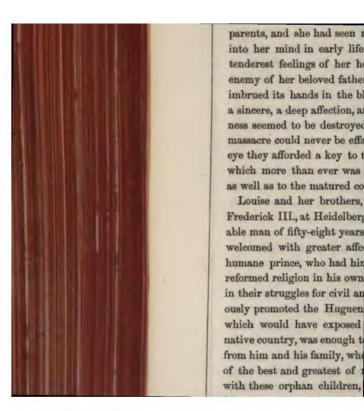
exposed to the utmost peril.
said; "there is no time to lo
general throughout France; d
resolution was to flee to some
alarmed for their safety, beto
sanctuary at Rochelle, some;
strongholds of France; whil

Queen of England, the humane Elector Palatine, Frederick III., the cantons of Zurich and of Berne, and especially the city of Geneva. received them with open arms.1 Louise's two eldest brothers immediately hurried away, and made good their escape. Her mother-inlaw also succeeded in getting beyond the reach of their bloodthirsty enemies. Her third and youngest brother, then only seven years and eight months old, an uncommonly good-looking boy, and the object of his father's fondest love, was taken by a detachment of the body-guards, which had been sent by the orders of the king to Chatillon Castle, to arrest the wife of the admiral, his children, and the children of Andelot, his brother; and being brought to Paris, together with the precious movables which were in the castle, he "began," as Colligny's biographer observes, "from his early childhood to bear the cross of Christ." Louise herself, with the Count of Laval, eldest son of her paternal uncle, Andelot, fled at first to Geneva. After a short stay in that hospitable asylum, they removed to Basle, where they remained some months. At last purposing to take up their abode in Berne, they went to that city, where they were received with as much honour as humanity.2

Here, and wherever she afterwards resided, Louise maintained her principles with the utmost constancy. No considerations of worldly advantage could induce her to renounce them. Many of her countrymen not having sufficient courage to endure the inconveniences of exile, to live at a distance from their homes and their wives, and to sacrifice the other ties which bind men to the place of their birth, yielding to the violence of persecution, accommodated themselves to the times, and returned to the religion of their ancestors. But Louise de Colligny, imitating her parents, neither of whom ever shrunk from cleaving to the Reformation, even in its most adverse

² Anonymous Memoirs of Colligny, p. 188.—De Thou, tom. iv., liv. lii., pp. 597-598; and liv. liii., pp. 628, 629.

The refugees in this last named city having been reduced to great poverty, from the pillage of their property by their enemies, and from their being necessitated to leave what they had behind them, Beza and his colleagues endeavoured as far as they could to mitigate their hardships, by causing contributions to be made for their relief-



parents, and she had seen r into her mind in early life. tenderest feelings of her he enemy of her beloved father imbrued its hands in the bl a sincere, a deep affection, ar ness seemed to be destroyed massacre could never be effa eye they afforded a key to t which more than ever was as well as to the matured co Louise and her brothers, Frederick III., at Heidelberg able man of fifty-eight years welcomed with greater affective humane prince, who had hin reformed religion in his own in their struggles for civil an ously promoted the Huguen which would have exposed native country, was enough t from him and his family, who of the best and greatest of

Protestants of other countries. She had also much to tell them of the multiplied horrors of St. Bartholomew day, and of the succeeding days, during which the massacre was continued, full and particular accounts of which having since been communicated to her by friends.

In the same year, while Louise and her brothers were resident at this court, the Duke of Anjou, one of the contrivers of the St. Bartholomew massacre, a young man about twenty years of age, who was on his way to Poland to take possession of that kingdom, to which he had been elected, having passed the Rhine, visited the elector at Heidelberg; a visit which, besides that this was a convenient halting place in his journey, he could not honourably neglect to pay. On passing though the city no acclamations greeted him, which is not surprising. The wonder rather is, that a Protestant population, roused to a pitch of incontrollable indignation at the sight of the completter of cruelties which had filled all Europe with horror, did not, disregarding his rank, strike the miscreant to the ground, beat him to death, or hang him on the first tree they met with. Such, at least, has been the treatment which the excited populace have sometimes awarded to criminals less deeply stained with blood than he was. On reaching the palace, finding no preparations for his reception, he suspected that this proceeded from a design to offer him disrespect; but his suspicions were unfounded, for the elector did not know of his coming, and his household had been thrown into confusion by a fire which, during the night, had accidentally broke out in some part of the palace. The elector received him with the courtesy claimed by one of the royal family of France. But from the subtle, deceitful, intriguing, bloodthirsty character of the duke, the elector, who was in all respects different, could not possibly esteem him, and he could not refrain from giving honest expression to his feelings of virtuous indignation at the atrocities so recently committed in France upon the unoffending Huguenots. He had received from the Huguenots a present of one of the portraits of Admiral Colligny, which they had caused to be executed after the

Bartholomew massacre, to be distributed in divers places and countries among the friends of the deceased, in honour of his memory. This portrait he showed to the duke. Having conducted him, along with two or three other persons of distinction, through a long gallery adorned with beautiful portraits of many princes and great men, on coming to that of Colligny, which he had placed among the collection, pointing to it with his finger, he asked the duke, "Do you know the man whose portrait that is?" "Yes, it is the late admiral," was the answer. "It is even he," rejoined the



The Portrait of Colligny.

elector, his blood rising as he thought of the cruel tragedy of Colligny's death; "it is even he, the best of men, the wisest and the greatest captain of Europe, whose children I have under my protection, lest the dogs of France should tear them in pieces, as they have done their father." The bold freedom of these words the duke felt

intensely, and bitter remorseful agony wrung his guilty heart; but he tried to conceal his feelings. "Of all the lords of France whom I have known," continued the elector, again pointing to the portrait with his finger, "that is the one whom I have found the most zealous for the glory of the French name, and I am not afraid to affirm that the king and all France have suffered in him a loss which can never be repaired." This he repeated several times, and in a tone of mingled grief and reproach at the inhumanity of the queen-mother, of the King of France, and of the duke. The duke, still endeavouring to dissemble his feelings, was proceeding to palliate the massacre, and to talk of the Huguenots' conspiracy to murder the whole court, when the elector stopped him short, by briefly replying, "We know all that story, sire;" and then led the way from the picture gallery.

Louise's secluded life subsequently to the mournful loss of her father and of her husband, removed her from the gay scenes of the world, and favoured the cultivation of her judgment, and her improvement in all the virtues. After she had remained a widow for eleven years, William, Prince of Orange, upon the death of his third wife, Charlotte de Bourbon, inspired with admiration of her character-an admiration doubtless strengthened from the veneration in which he had always held her father-made her proposals of marriage. She had no marriage-portion, the cruel and oppressive French government having, after the massacre of her father, plundered and disinherited his children; but her good qualities were, in William's estimation, a sufficient dowry; and she appears to have accepted of his proposals, less from motives of ambition than from sentiments of generous sympathy and enthusiasm awakened by a prince who, resembling her father in character, in courage, and military talents, had fought valiantly and successfully against tyranny and tyrants. She saw in him a disinterested patriot, who, at the expense of toil

¹ L'Estoile, in Petitot, tom. xlv., p. 78.—De Thou, tom. v., liv. Ivii., p. 22.—Brantôme, Oeueres, tom. iii., discours laxix., p. 300. In the concluding part of the anecdote we have followed Brantôme. According to De Thou, the duke made no answer to the observations of the elector.

hardship, suffering, at the risk of the loss of large possessions, and even of life, had fearlessly resisted the vast power of Spain, put an end to the horrible persecutions of the Reformers in the Low Countries by Philip of Spain, and established civil and religious freedom; and this became the nurse of a pure and sacred affection.

The marriage between Louise and the prince was solemnized at Antwerp, on the 12th of April, 1583; and they took up their residence at Delft. This union, it might be supposed, would have been almost universally popular in the Confederated Provinces. The bride was a Protestant lady of irreproachable life and exalted piety, and the daughter of a man who had done and suffered more for the Protestant cause than almost any other man of his age. The marriage did not, however, give general satisfaction, in consequence of the strong feelings of animosity at that time entertained by the people against France, from the various indignities and injuries which they had received from the Duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III. of France. It afforded the enemies of the prince occasion to represent his affection to that kingdom in the most odious terms, to charge him with a design of enslaving the Confederated Provinces by bringing them under the dominion of that foreign power; a design which the prince never entertained, though he was very desirous of establishing a friendly understanding between France and the Netherlands, notwithstanding the difference between the two countries as to religion, to enable the latter the more successfully to resist the power of Spain.2

Upon her first arrival in Holland, the princess was struck with the simple manners of all classes, so different from what she had seen in her more refined native country. She was surprised to find that there even the higher ranks were remarkable for the homelines and plainness of their tables, that it was the custom for them unostentatiously to walk along the streets without pages, or even lackeys, and that they rode in carts without springs instead of

¹ De Thou, tom. vi, liv. lxxvii., p. 285.

² Brandt, vol. i., pp. 390, 391.

coaches. But she gradually became reconciled to the manners and habits of the Low Countries; and she was afterwards wont, good-humouredly, to relate to her friends the uneasiness and discomfort she sometimes felt from usages to which she had not been accustomed. "She has told my father freely," says Maurier, "that at her coming into Holland she was very much surprised at their rude way of living, so different from that in France, and whereas she had been used to a coach, she was there put into a Dutch waggon, open at top, guided by a Vourman, where she sat upon a board; and that in going from Rotterdam to Delft, which is but two leagues, she was crippled, and almost frozen to death."



Toe Townhall Delft.

Being only thirty years of age at her second marriage, Louise still retained her personal charms, and she promised much domestic happiness to the prince, while by her amiable accomplished manners

¹ Lives of the Princes of Orange, p. 141.



possessed more firmness of charvigorous and better cultivated th soon vied with the prince in affathe art of winning popularity. The daughter of Bourbon had been ap a being of another world, loved a tionate and honoured mother."

At Delft, on the 28th of Februs a son, who was named Frederick illustrious as Prince of Orange.²

Prosperity now seemed to sm only alloy in her felicity was the case of her predecessor, Char intrude into her thoughts, in cowhich surrounded the prince. So anticipated, she was again taughted present life is a scene of trial, in loss of the tenderest objects of affineart, and dissipate all the brighness. In less than five months a husband expiring before her, a Spain, more desperate and more Balthazar de Gerard, a Frenchage, being a native of Villefor





month of May, 1584, with the view of carrying his resolution into execution, he succeeded, under false pretences, in getting into the confidence of the prince, who employed him in confidential service. On the 10th of July, the day on which he perpetrated the fatal deed, he was watching in the palace when the prince should go into the hall to dinner, and to cover his design, he asked from him a passport. This he did with a disconcerted mein, and with a hollow tremulous voice; which the princess observing, she suspected him of some bad intention, and asked the prince what sinister-looking man that was, and what he wanted. "He wishes a passport," answered the prince, "and I will cause one to be given him." During dinner the assassin sauntered about the stables behind the palace, towards the ramparts of the town. But he again returned to his former post, to wait the opportunity of giving effect to his bloody purpose; and while the prince, after dinner, was leaving the dining hall to go up to his chamber, the murderer placed himself behind a pillar in the gallery, with his two pistols hanging at his girdle on the left side, and hidden under his cloak; but he let the cloak hang off his shoulder, that he might not seem to have anything concealed under it, and he held in his right hand a paper, as if it had been a passport which he wished the prince to sign. As the prince was about to go up stairs, and had one foot upon the first step, the ruffian, advancing, drew forth one of his pistols loaded with three balls, which he discharged into the body of his victim, shooting him from the left side to the right, through the stomach and the vital parts; and this he did so suddenly, that none perceived him before the fatal blow was given. The balls, passing through the body of the prince, struck against the stone of the gate, into which they entered, leaving marks which were shown to strangers at Delft long after. The wound was mortal. On receiving it the prince cried out in French, "Mon Dieu! aye pitié de mon ame; je suis fort blessé; mon Dieu! aye pitié de mon ame, et de ce pauvre peuple;" "O, my God! have mercy upon my soul; I am severely wounded; O, my God! have mercy upon my soul, and upon this poor people." Having uttered these words, which were



were then residing with him,2 hu and bursting into tears, as they sister, believing that he was dyir he did not recommend his soul to he answered, according to some according to others, simply by was immediately carried back to scarcely had he been put upon hi having nearly completed the fiftytress of the princess cannot be desc ings in cries of bitter lamentation her first husband and her father manner. But the piety of her sp God, and she earnestly prayed for above to enable her to behave ari reavement, to be patient and resig are ordered and appointed by Go his creatures as seemeth him good in infinite wisdom, righteousness, "She had this advantage," says greatest man in Europe, and to h virtues, the last of whom left be

but she had likewise the misfortu and violent deaths, her life havi series of afflictions, able to make any one sink under them, but a soul that, like hers, had resigned itself up entirely to the will of heaven."

The princess and the family of the prince were deeply sympathized with throughout the Confederated Provinces. Universal lamentations were heard among the people, as if each had lost what was most dear to him, and as if the state had lost its chief protector against the power of Spain. The funeral, which was conducted with great pomp, was attended by all the nobility and the chief men of the provinces. Philip William, the prince's eldest son, being a prisoner in Spain (see p. 591), Maurice, the prince's second son, followed the corpse as chief mourner to the grave, which was in the new church of Delft, at the spot where the great altar formerly stood. Here Prince Maurice,* in 1620, erected to the memory of his father a magnificent monument of marble, accounted not inferior to the most sumptuous tombs in Italy. In the middle is the statue of the deceased prince. The pillars are four columns of marble, having in their front four figures of bronze, representing the four cardinal virtues. At the feet of the prince are the statues of his two sons, Prince Maurice and Frederick, and the upper part of the monument is surrounded with weeping loves.3

The states of the United Provinces granted to the widowed princess, who, as we have seen before, had no other dowry but her good qualities, an annual pension of 20,000 francs during life. To the daughters of her deceased husband, and particularly to those of them born by Charlotte de Bourbon, who, from their tender age, most needed her care, she faithfully and affectionately discharged the duties of a mother. Elizabeth, Queen of England, to whose protection William, foreseeing the danger to which his life was exposed from the plots of his enemies, had during his life committed his

¹ Lives of the Princes of Orange, p. 140,

² Upon the death of Philip at Brussels, in 1618, Maurice became Prince of Orange. Before this he bore the title of count.—Maurier, p. 124.

³ Maurier, p. 120.-Les Delices des Pays-Bas, tom. v., p. 5.

⁴ Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 108.



rous family under her charge:-well, thank God, and is about st Mademoisselle d'Orange [Mary Buren. Little Catharine Belgiq burg, my sister. The others a (as also my son), except Louise, so ill, that the doctors have but bad hopes. I do, and will a Under her care and the care of

Under her care and the care of zenburg, these daughters became attainments, and the princess in portment which their excellent; ter of some of them accordingly

mother than that of their own | in the prince's second son, Maur

fidence and respect.3

After her bereavement Louis burg, in the province of Zealan resident in that city, to Philip anxiety as to the education of desire of obtaining a well qualifiletter is as follows:—

"Monsieur,—Some time ago l which you were pleased to order observed in the education of you Sieur de Buzanval, and many others, have given me so favourable a report of the high expectations formed of so excellent a youth, that it has made me extremely desirous of having my son educated after the same manner, and earnestly to beg M. de Buzanval to write to you on the subject, as he has done. Monsieur, I render you many



The Townhall, Middleburg.

thanks for the proof you have herein given me of your care of a son whose father and grandfather you loved so much. I preserve this account as very precious, regretting that I cannot begin to put it into practice. We are here in a country so barren of suitable men for the training of youth, that I despair of being able to find one so long as I remain in this place, and with difficulty elsewhere, unless, as I humbly pray, you assist me in so good a work, and thus by your means I again obtain one worthy of such a charge. Monsieur, if I am so happy as to be able to do you service, employ me, I beseech you, as the person who of all others most honours your virtue, and



Leyden, but to it as a place of re aversion, because one of the mi Hackhouse, had publicly said in prince, her consort, "had been go French marriage, as likewise by baptism of his son, for which ca him."2 Thus to anathematize he woman, and to represent the la fully by marrying her, that he monument of the Divine justice enough, a deep impression upon house was opposed to the prince French lady, from an unfounded by the enemies of the prince, the derated Provinces to the power of riage on this ground, combining chief elements into his charact complacent spiritual pride, as if knowledge of the counsels of He and perverted interpretation upo as provoking the wrath of Heav mitted, for, in the first place, th rejoicings at the birth of a chi

these in a style corresponding to world; and secondly it is certa regard his assassination in the light of a judgment from God. We can observe no sin legibly written upon his death, as the sin of the debauchee upon his ruined constitution, his blasted reputation, his blighted earthly prospects, which bespeak a judicial infliction as distinctly as if we heard it proclaimed by a voice from heaven. So far from this, he was a virtuous, pious, patriotic man. Had he been less a patriot, had he consulted only his own temporal interests, and not those of his country, he might have died quietly upon his bed. He fell a sacrifice to his devotion to the civil and religious liberties of his country; and his death, instead of being viewed as a judgment of God, is to be contemplated as belonging to that portion of the Divine dispensations in which, for reasons beyond the power of human skill or sagacity to discover, God has often permitted patriots and martyrs, men of whom the world was not worthy, to fall victims to the inexorable vengeance of tyrants and persecutors.

Upon her settlement at the Hague, no French Protestant church being then established in that place, one was founded there, chiefly at her request; and John Uitenbogard, one of the reformed ministers



The Hague-

of the Hague, was appointed to serve it, by preaching in the French tongue; a service which, after some reluctance, he was ultimately induced to undertake, mainly in compliance with the wishes of the princess, who had formed a highly favourable opinion of his character,



From various allusions learn that the princess aft sions is characteristic of th intercourse with ladies of with which she expressed Sabbath, the 18th of Sept to see the Princess Catha France, she found in the of Montpensier.2 The du shameful to be here spec assassinate Henry III. of F cherished an implacable ha execrable murder, she had mock mourning, among the of the Huguenots. Louise fore, on finding this wicked she abruptly quitted it, s in the company of such a late king, because she was

In the controversy betw

Brandt, vol. iv., p. 197.—Le (
 Catharine de Lorraine, daugh
 courted, with disgusting servility,
 she obtained such familiar access
 annoved Catharine of Navare, with

which arose in Holland in the early part of the 17th century, the princess declared herself on the side of the Arminians. In taking this step she was probably influenced, in no inconsiderable degree, by the esteem in which she held her minister, Uitenbogard, who was a leading man in that party. 1 Perhaps, also, like many others, she was swayed by misrepresentations or caricatures of Calvinism, or by the plausibility given to the objections against it, from the exaggeration and false colouring under which they were presented. She seems to have been of opinion that the questions at issue between the two parties did not affect the essential principles of the Christian faith, that upon either system the foundations of human hope remained unshaken, and that the disputants should not allow their differences of sentiment to obstruct Christian affection and harmony, but should leave each other to entertain their respective views on subjects so profound and mysterious. Hence, says Brandt, "all her discourses and counsels tended to peace."

In order, if possible, to put an end to these unhappy differences, so detrimental to the welfare of the church and state in the provinces, the princess, and several individuals of note on both sides, were extremely desirous that Duplessis Mornay, a nobleman high in reputation among the Reformers of all countries, should visit them, and interpose his friendly offices for the accomplishment of an object

opponents, who embraced the majority of the clergy, and the principal professors in the Dutch universities, strenuously maintained the Calvinistic system, and were therefore called Calvinists. The name Gomarists, by which they were also designated, was derived from Francis Gomar, Arminius's colleague, who particularly signalized himself by his opposition to the new system. The two parties were also called Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, from a petition or remonstrance which the former party presented to the States-General in 1610. After the death of Arminius, in 1609, the controversy was carried on with redoubled vigour; and it produced such violent dissensions, animosities, and divisons as, unless authenticated by indisputable documents, could hardly be credited of a people naturally so cool and phlegmatic in temperament as the Dutch.

¹ Uitenbogard, when at Geneva, studying theology under Theodore de Beza and Antoine de la Faye, became acquainted with James Arminius, who was a theological student there at the same time, and an intimate friendship was formed between them, which continued without intercuption till the death of the latter.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., pp. 232, 233.



as awden, that they he could not undertake consent of the French ki from the French ambass from Heer Langarak, the: that Mornay might be sen ambassador. The king, it the request, and one of propose it to Mornay. who knew well the state should he proceed thithe dissensions, though he power for the realization "is so inveterate, that I a I will, however, do my ut zeal for his service, when how much he is interested

At the same time, the Mornay the following letter that distracted commonwork Monsieur de Villebon has to be in your thoughts; a into them who honours But I am not the only I these parts for a few days.

country is likewise at stake if some care be not speedily taken. You are one of those who assisted my lord and husband in laying the foundations of this state: come now to the help of his children, and keep them from burying themselves in its ruins. If the dead had any knowledge of what passes upon the earth, I am sure he would conjure you to it in his own name, and by his ashes. Sir, I beg it of you most heartily. I know that in order to be qualified for this you must come with a commission; but I know, too, that if you be but disposed, it will not be difficult for you to procure such a com_ mission. For God's sake, sir, do not stand upon punctilios. We are straitened in time, and since you are now at Rouen, it will be much more easy for you to take this journey, than when you shall have returned to Paris or Saumur. I beseech God to inspire you with the best resolutions, and I entreat you to continue the honour of your friendship to her who will remain, during life, your humble and very affectionate, the "PRINCESS-DOWAGER OF ORANGE.

" Hague, December 28, 1617."1

The desire expressed by the princess in this letter was not gratified. The French monarch did nothing more in the matter than order, as was said before, one of his chief ministers to inform Mornay of his majesty's intention to send him into Holland, to try what he could do to compose the differences that existed there. Some of the French clergy, or some of his majesty's council, who now began to aim at reducing the power of the Protestants in France, perhaps opposed the mission from motives of policy, perceiving that their purpose would be more easily gained by the continuance of the dissensions among the Protestants in Holland, which would greatly weaken the Protestant interest.

Several years before, this controversy had created much irritation in the Hague. There were at that time four regularly appointed reformed ministers in that place, John la Faille, John Lamotius, Henry Roseus, and John Uitenbogard, who took their turn in preaching in the Great church. The two first were Contra-Remonstrants, but,

¹ Brandt, vol. ii., pp 394, 395.

conformably to the ordinance of the states of 1614, enjoining upon the contending parties Christian charity and concord for the good of the commonwealth and of the church, they made the differences between them and the Remonstrants matters of forbearance. Roseus. the youngest of the four, had been for a long time the particular friend of Uitenbogard, and was understood, at the commencement of the disputes, to entertain the same opinions as that minister, until the year 1612, when his sentiments underwent a change, and from that time he began publicly to preach against the Remonstrants. The result was that Roseus, with a large body of the people, numbering upwards of 1200, separated from the other three ministers, and formed themselves into a distinct congregation, with a distinct consistory. They obtained permission from the states to preach in the Hospital church, a permission the more readily granted them in consequence of the open support which Count Maurice, from political motives and personal resentments, rendered them. 1 The Hospital church being too small to contain them, they took possession of the Cloister church, formerly a church of the monks, and converted, on the overthrow of Popery, into an arsenal. They first assembled in this church on the 9th of July, 1617, on which day they had two sermons preached to them.2

The controversy between the two parties continued to rage with increasing violence. On the 23d of July, 1617, Maurice, who had been accustomed to attend on the Sabbath the French church of

¹ Maurice at first declared that he did not wish in any way to mingle in theological controversies, but to remain neutral, saying that he was a soldier, and understood nothing in theology.—Le Clerc, tom. i., pp. 299, 315. At length, however, he put himself at the head of the Calvinists, partly in the hope of effecting his ambitions purposes by means of them, as they were the majority, and partly from hatred to John van Olden Barneveldt, Grand Pensionary of the States of Holland, and a zealous republican, who, jealous of his aspiring to undue, it is even said to sovereign power, in the state, had thwarted him in some of his favourite measures. The fact that Barneveldt took the side of the Remonstrants greatly contributed in moving Maurice to take the side of the other party. Thus the controversy inflamed political differences, and was inflamed by them; and it actually grew into a state faction.—Maurier, pp. 156–158.

² Le Clerc, tom. i., pp. 300-303, 313, 314.

the court, to hear Uitenbogard, whom he had highly esteemed, went with the Prince William Louis of Nassau, and a numerous retinue, to the Cloister church.2 At the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Hague, at Christmas in the same year, the two parties in that city separately observed the ordinance. Maurice and many persons of quality, ministers of state, military officers, several councillors, both of the French court and of the court of Holland, together with the great body of the people, observed it in the congregation which met in the Cloister church.3 The princess-dowager, who declared herself openly on the side of the Remonstrants, and of such as maintained church-fellowship with them, partook of the Lord's Supper in the French church, under the charge of Uitenbogard. Her example was followed by her son, Frederick Henry; the Grand Pensionary, Olden Barneveldt; the Heers van Asperen, van Veenhusen, van der Myle, and van Groonevelt; the Yonkers van Sevonder and van Liere; the Heers Hugens, Melander, Martini, and other persons of distinction. But Uitenbogard's congregation and communicants were few in number compared with the multitude of communicants and hearers who assembled in the Cloister church.*

The princess continued regularly to attend the sermons of Uitenbogard, and declared she would do so as long as the states allowed

I Maurice had brought him to be minister at the Hague, and so greatly regarded him, that he did not rest till he had obtained him from the states and from the church at the Hague for his own minister, who should accompany him in all his campaigns. Uitenbogard attended him from the year 1599 to the year 1614.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 233. But Maurice, now suspecting him to be united with Barneveldt in opposition to his schemes of political ambition, contracted a dislike to him, and treated him somewhat contunctiously, calling him publicly the enemy of God. He complained to the princess-dowager, his mother-in-law, that Barneveldt, Uitenbogard, and others, held a cabinet council to oppose him.—Ibid., tom. i, pp. 302, 313.—Brandt, vol. iv., p. 197.

¹ Le Clerc, tom. i., p. 315.

³ At the celebration of the Supper in February, 1617, Prince Maurice, who had previously always communicated with Uitenbogard, had absented himself, not wishing to receive the communion from the hands of that minister, by whom it was on that occasion administered.—Le Clerc, tom. i., p. 313.

⁴ Brandt, vol. ii., p. 395.



bogard preached up peace an temptuously treated for it, et had heard praising the like before." 2 If by "peace and n ought to be conducted in a car sion of the angry passions, cla too often mingled in theolog important lesson, to which be But if he meant, as it appear disputed points should cease, a ground of a division in the chu to teach his own sentiments, he cult to establish.

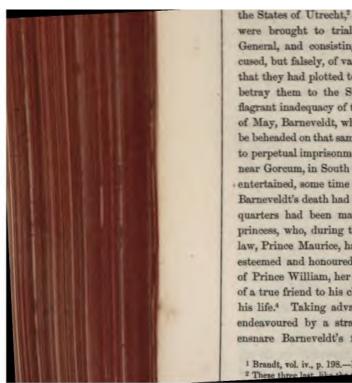
When Uitenbogard, on havi and the principal courtiers, who Contra-Remonstrants, began to ter of the French congregation first unwilling to undertake, he She entreated him not to do sher as so much discouraged that go into the pulpit again, from because of the trouble in which synod, she fell a-weeping, bese ence of depressing the

used the same language, and was true to her word, her favour towards him remaining unchanged, when the storms of religious contention increased in violence, and the dangers which had fallen upon others hung over his head. In this great controversy which shook Holland, she ranked herself, in our judgment, on the wrong side, but she no doubt acted conscientiously, and her whole conduct towards Uitenbogard, who was a good man, however mistaken as to some parts of Divine truth, from the commencement of these disputes to her death, presents her amiable and sympathizing character in a very interesting light.

Foreseeing that a storm was gathering, Uitenbogard thought of betaking himself to flight. The princess, conceiving that he was in no personal danger, advised him to remain. "We are fallen into such times," said she, in a brief note which she wrote to him in her native tongue, "that we cannot assist one another but with our prayers. I am not of the number of those who advise you to retire till the storm is blown over; on the contrary, I think you ought to stand it, though it should fall upon you, which, however, I do by no means believe." She was afraid lest his flight should be construed into a confession of political guilt, and was desirous, should it be necessary, that he should put himself under her protection. "I will afford you an asylum," said she, "in my own house, as far as I can; and I will do it publicly, in the persuasion that nobody will forcibly take you from thence." He, however, judged it more prudent to leave the Hague than to seek shelter under the roof of the princess, who, however much inclined, might have been unable to shield him from the power of Prince Maurice. Having obtained leave from his consistory, he left the Hague on the 29th of August, 1618, the day on which Barneveldt was arrested, and went to Antwerp.2 On the day of his departure the princess wrote to him these words: "The wisest of your friends, who see deepest into matters, are of opinion that you ought to lie concealed for some days, during which time a better

¹ Brandt, vol. iv., p. 198.

² Le Clerc, tom. ii, p. 11.



were brought to trial General, and consisting cused, but falsely, of varie that they had plotted to betray them to the Spa flagrant inadequacy of the of May, Barneveldt, who be beheaded on that same d to perpetual imprisonment near Gorcum, in South Ho entertained, some time bef Barneveldt's death had bee quarters had been made princess, who, during the law, Prince Maurice, had esteemed and honoured as of Prince William, her hu of a true friend to his child his life.4 Taking advanta endeavoured by a stratag ensnare Barneveldt's fam 1 Brandt, vol. iv., p. 198 .- Le C

ordered Count William, governor of Friesland, to say from him to her, that he was astonished that no application had been made by Barneveldt's family for a pardon to him. In the hope that Maurice was beginning to relent, she lost no time in conveying this communication to Madame de Barneveldt. But that high-spirited lady, having consulted with her friends, came to the conclusion to take no step which would imply an acknowledgment of her husband's guilt, and replied, that she could not ask pardon for an innocent man. 1 The princess herself besought, but in vain, an audience of Maurice, to intercede for the life of her friend. The prince was inexorable, and, much as he respected her, refused to allow her to speak to him on the subject.2 Barneveldt prepared for death, asking no favour for himself, though the tenderness of a husband and a father induced him to plead for the protection of his wife and children. He was executed, according to the sentence, in the court of the castle at the Hague, and met his fate with Christian fortitude.3

This tragic event much affected the princess. "No less affection," says Brandt, "did she discover to the advocate, Olden Barneveldt [than to Uitenbogard], lamenting his death with public and unfeigned

¹ When all correspondence between Barneveldt and his friends was strictly interdicted, this lady contrived an ingenious mode of communicating with him by writing. Having found means of sending him at different times a quantity of large fine pears, which might serve him for a dessert, she put into some of them writing quills, within which she had inserted billets, written in very small characters. The artifice was, however, at last discovered by the soldier who kept watch at the time when a quantity of pears arrived. Having taken two of them, which for the present he put into his pocket, on coming to his house he gave one of them to his wife, who, cutting it, found it to contain a quill, within which was a small scroll written on both sides, in Latin.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 49.—Grimeston's History of the Netherlands, Continuation by Cross, pp. 13, 93.

² Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 54.

³ Barneveldt left two sons. They had held considerable situations in the state, of which being now deprived, and in revenge of their father's death, they engaged in a conspiracy against the life of the prince. One of them made his escape. The other was condemned to lose his head. His mother fell at the feet of Maurice, pleading for his life. The prince expressed surprise that she who had refused to ask her husband's pardon should condescend to intercede in behalf of her son. "I did not ask pardon for my husband," was her noble-minded reply, "because he was innocent. I ask it for my son, because he is guilty."



O rechoogard 1 had therefore secured his ment of Maurice against 1 with the prince, but with was condemned, in his abs crime of which he was gui to perpetual banishment, the territories under the j his goods declared to be dated 29th May, 1619, af sentence, he says, "I hav have been moderated if, i some acknowledgment of not to do, without being c He begs her to grant hin of the French court, or to Maurier, French ambassad ceed to France."2 From fate of Barneveldt, and of been condemned to perpe now convinced of Uitenboy he had acted wisely in leav purposed, to retire into I Brandt, "that could contril

I Braudt, vol iv n 100

and poured out her heart with a motherly tenderness in many letters which she wrote to him with her own hand, of which ten or twelve are still in my custody." 1

At the close of April, 1520, the princess left the Hague for France. Her residence in Holland had become uncomfortable from her witnessing the violence with which religious quarrels raged, so fatal to the welfare of the Protestant cause, without any hope of seeing these differences extinguished. She was also sensibly touched at perceiving the jealousy and coldness with which she was regarded by the Contra-Remonstrant party. Such was the odium she had incurred by siding with the Remonstrants, that on riding one day through Delft, she was hooted and maltreated by the blinded fanatical mob, the canaille, who ran after her coach, throwing into it filth, and calling her Arminian whore, the usual slang of the mob against ladies whom they mean to insult. These were probably the motives inducing her to go to France. On her way she stopped some days at Antwerp, with the prince, her son. Uitenbogard, who resided there at that time, waited upon them, and was received with the utmost kindness by them both, especially by the princess, who showed her affection to him by her tears. With much piety she exhorted him to patience and perseverance, thanking him for the good instructions she had received from him when under his ministry, and offering him all civility and favour should he come to France.

The princess had been only a few months in France when she was overtaken by her last illness, at Fontainebleau. On her death-bed she was visited by Marie de Medicis, the queen-mother, who happened at that time to be at Fontainebleau, and by several princesses. Stephen de Courcelles, minister of the reformed church in that place,² frequently conversed and prayed with her. On one occasion John

¹ Brandt, vol. iv., p. 198.—Uitenbogard returned from France to Holland in 1626, when he was allowed to live in peace; and he died at the Hague, on the 14th of September, 1644, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., pp. 109, 232.

² There were only a few reformed families in Fontaineblean; but de Courcelles had a numerous auditory when the court came there, his ministry being attended by the reformed lords who followed the court, and others brought thither by business. De



Courcelles at one side of ner of at the other, the bishop said to ame, car vous avez deux demons your soul, for you have two evil



Thereboles of

a deep interest in her eternal ha her Protestant principles and to which, he assured her, there is n man; but the daughter of Admi liam, Prince of Orange, had me

long since come to a decision on the great questions which divided Popery and the Reformation. Her confidence in the truth of the reformed principles, unshaken in the prospect of death, was the only foundation of her hope in looking to another world. She therefore wished now to be spared the intrusion of admonitions from which she expected neither security nor peace in death. De Courcelles addressed her in a different strain from that of the Popish prelate. He spoke to her of the Saviour, of the all-sufficiency of his divine righteousness, of the cordial welcome given to all to trust in this righteousness, of the exceeding great and precious promises by which God engages to be present with his people, to support and comfort them in the hour of death. On these and kindred topics he dwelt, and she listened to his words like one who felt that these were the truths which, apprehended by a living faith, dissipate all anxiety, and afford a well-grounded hope of eternal life. She died on the 9th of October, 1620, in the sixty-seventh year of her age.1

The body of the princess was embalmed and carried to the Hague, whence it was conducted to Delft, and interred on the 24th of May, the following year, in the magnificent tomb which had been erected in honour of the prince. This lady was not without enemies; but the candid of all parties, and especially such as best knew her, have united in paying a tribute of respect to her virtue and piety. The ambassador De Boissise speaks of her as "an incomparable princess, and one who very much loved both France and the United Provinces." Bandart, a strong Contra-Remonstrant, testifies "that her piety, good nature, and civility, together with her other virtues, were such that all who knew her were compelled to love and honour her." Philip Duplessis Mornay, in a letter which he wrote to the ambassador Buzenval, says "that he could never speak to her, nor concerning her, without being struck to the heart by the remembrance of her father and of her husband, to whom France, in his estimation, lay under the deepest debt of gratitude; but that he was yet more parti-

¹ Brandt, vol. iv., pp. 198, 199.—Le Clerc, tom. ii., pp. 68, 69.



easy, graceful; and had a as her extraordinary good more noble soul, or a true testimony of her zeal for the world, she adopted fo "Thy kingdom come;" a Louise de Colligny had second she had only one Prince of Orange. He w held in such high esteem father of the soldiers." B son, William, born in 1626 married the Princess Mar Great Britain, and by her who, upon the expulsion of under the title of William great-grandmother of Wil Britain and Ireland from revolution.3

¹ Brandt, vol. iv., p. 199.

³ Maurier, pp. 134, 177, 178, 20



APPENDIX.

No. I.-(p. 111.)

Anne Boleyn's Letter to Henry VIII., from the Tower.

"Sir, —Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so to obtain your favour) by such, and whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him! than I rightly conceived your meaning: and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall, with all willingness and duty, perform your command.

But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded. And, to speak a truth, never a prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration was fit and sufficient (I know) to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If, then, you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of my enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess, your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame. Then shall you see either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsover God or you may determine of, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine

Probably the Duke of Norfolk, or Sir William Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the household.



likewise my enemies, the instryou to a strait account for you general judgment-seat, where be in whose just judgment, I doubt mine innocency shall be openly and only request shall be, that grace's displeasure; and that it poor gentlemen, who, as I unde for my sake. If I have ever fou Anne Boleyn have been pleasi request; and so I will leave to earnest prayer to the Trinity, to direct you in all your actions 6th of May. Your most loyal:

No.

Popish Plo

WYATT, in his Memoirs of Quee fall to the plots of her Popish mind with jealousy by slanderou these Popish evil instruments w and even with the Pope himself not so fit for dalliance, the time her when most of all she was to thus so many, so great factions a favour of the king, and so few t issue? What was otherlike bu should prevail to overthrow he fall? Her very of them, so far as can find, ca consciences of mere matter of a Rome, that Popish forge of cunning and treachery, as Petrarch long since termed it:—

"Nest of treasons, in which is hatch'd and bred What ill this day the world doth overspread."

That Anne was the object of the intensest hatred of the Pope, as she was of the whole Papal hierarchy, is undoubted. Her marriage with Henry having occasioned the separation of this kingdom from the Roman see; her support of the reformed party; her protection of the importers and circulators of the English Bible; her promotion of Shaxton and Latimer, two individuals particularly obnoxious to the Popish party, to bishoprics made vacant by the deprivation of two Italian cardinals; in short, all the steps taken in opposition to the Papacy in England, from the time of her union with Henry; these were the unpardonable sins which called forth against her Rome's deepest enmity. How far the Pope and the Papists abroad were concerned in the plot for her overthrow, it may be impossible now to ascertain, but that they were early in the secret is placed beyond all doubt, from manuscript documents of indisputable authority still in existence.

In a despatch to Henry, dated Rome, 27th May, 1536, Sir Gregory Cassalis says, "Ten days have elapsed since I went to the Pope, and narrated to him the tidings that the queen had been thrown into prison, with her relations, for concurring in her adultery. He then said that he had been beseeching God to enlighten the mind of your majesty with his own light in this affair; that indeed he always had something of this sort in his eye, because he regarded your majesty as adorned with such virtues, and as having merited so well for your services towards Christendom, that God would not desert you, but would rather exalt your mind by the grace of his illumination, that in times when certainly it is especially necessary, your majesty, like as in other respects you have acted, may perform an excellent work for Christendom, being released from a marriage which was truly too unequal for you." From this report, given by Cassalis of his interview with the Pope, it is evident—1, That the Pope knew the conspiracy formed against Anne previously to his being told of her imprisonment by Cassalis; for, on hearing Cassalis's communication, he says that he had been beseeching God to enlighten Henry's mind on that matter. 2, That he had been long thinking of a similar plan for the destruction of Anne; and contemplating her destruction as an event very likely to be realized. And, 3, That he saw with undoubted certainty how her trial would terminate. He seems almost ambitious of claiming the merit of originating the plot. But whether it originated with him or no, it is certain that the evil instruments engaged in it put themselves at an early period in communication with him.

The precise date of his becoming acquainted with it is uncertain. From a letter written by Cassalis to Henry, dated Rome, February 20, 1535-6, Anderson, in his Annals of the English Bible, concludes that the Pope and his agents at Rome were in the secret of the conspiracy at that period, when Anne had not yet recovered from a premature and dangerous childbirth. The letter, which is in the British Museum, is so mutilated by fire that it

2 Y

¹ Cotton MS. Vitellius, B. xiv., folio, pp. 215-218, in British Museum.—Turner's Hist. of Heavy FIII., p. 478. ² Vol. i., p. 480.

³ Cotton MS. Vitellius, B. xiv., folio, p. 162.



anxious to gratify the monarch's Popel told me," says Cassalis, learned men of the said cause, generally told him only that if good bishop to do, and consult I letted not to speak and show and the stability of your own n matter I intend to speak and a shall have answer from your m templated repudiaion of Anne it was a secret in London. H knowing that it would equally him the joyful tidings, and he h blood. Gardiner, who was then i both with England and with Ita information to the Papal court. vouring to obtain for Henry a thus promoted the elevation of against the Reformers, he beca supported them; and into any enter with all his heart and son Another circumstance, creati

were in communication with he English ambassador at the co 12th of April to the king, in cir and enforcing the subject with likely to have ventured to pre attention of such a man as Hen embassy? And may it not reasciphers had not some connected her daughter?

While Popish conspirators of Anne, the two parties, equally a work, and were each actuated Henry's jealousy and framing He nulled the string. Their of

Church from her ruin. He flattered himself that, were she out of the way, a very serious obstacle to the return of Henry and of England to the communion of the Popish Church would be removed; and, with the artful blandishments of a thorough-bred parasite, he now made eager advances to the schismatical monarch. This we learn from Cassalis's despatch to Henry of the 27th May, in which, after the passage already quoted, he observes that the Pope praised his majesty's liberality and magnanimity in having often shown himself ready to supply the church with sums of money, together with all assistance and counsel, and in having valiantly defended her doctrine against the furious attacks of Luther. "The Pope," he adds, "said that the Roman Church, were your majesty joined to it, would, without doubt, have so much authority as to be able to command at once the emperor and the King of France, and to compel both to peace, the honour of which is to be shared with your majesty by no one; both because it is evident that, though he [the Pope] had endeavoured by every means to accomplish this, he had effected nothing; and because it is manifest that your majesty, if you have with you the Roman pontiff, might authoritatively command the other princes as you pleased. He would pledge himself to obey you in this business. He desired nothing but peace; nor was he addicted to factions, nor disposed to strive covetously to increase his fortune in immense sums, or to extend the boundaries of the Pontificate. Your majesty ought not to regard him with angry, but rather with friendly feelings; for he had always most earnestly sought to gratify you in your affair, and had never wished to damage it, having given many tokens of love and attention in the cause of your marriage, and done all things in his power for you in the consistories with Clement VII., both publicly and privately, and at Bologna with the emperor. This duty he had done from his heart, considering that God would call him to account for it. Nor did he wish to offend your majesty in anything, although he understood something was daily doing in England against the apostolic see." The Pope then apologized for having made John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, 1 a cardinal; acknowledged that he had erred in that step; and that in what followed, referring to the excommunication pronounced upon Henry, he had acted at solicitations on all sides urging him to avenge the death of the cardinal, not from his own inclination, which had not gone along with it. After other intimations equally humble, obsequious, and wheedling, he was asked by Cassalis whether he wished these sentiments to be reported to the king. "You may say," said the Pope, after a deliberative pause, "that you had found the pontiff in such a good disposition, that his majesty might without doubt be assured of everything concerning himself."

How different the language of his holiness now from what it was in August, 1535, when he issued his famous bull of excommunication against Henry! Then, raging and foaming like a demoniac, he could hardly find in the Papal rocalculary, so exuberant in terms of opprobrium and execration, words adequate to express his fell spirit of revenge against the reprobated monarch.

Fisher, when nearly eighty years of age, had been thrown into prison for denying Henry's ordenastical supremacy. The Pope, apprised of his situation, sent him a cardinal's hat, footistly intended, perhaps, to express his contempt of Henry, and to excite the popular symmetry in behalf of the prelate. This irritated the monarch, and hastened the destruction of Index, who was tried on the 17th of June, 1835, and beheaded on the 22d of that month. See an account of his trial and death in Archaeologia, vol. xxv., pp. 61-63.



made no advances for a recondition of England ren produce this result. In th was favourable to the Refe disengaged when he recei submissive tone would very on his mind. But long be even before it was written, leanings interposed a form Secondly, he was now reap monasteries, and had the a revenue from the same sour tional veneration for the Ro character, he was not to be or caprice might dictate, by themas. Under the joint o fail to mark the merciful ha good the evil passions of the Papal despotism. Finding arms of the Papacy, and tha the death of Anne Boleyn, hi towards the intractable mona his blessings into curses.

.

Lady Jane Grey's Letter to

"FATHER,—Although it hath whom my life should rather h take it, that I yield God more than if all the world had been g at my own will continually assayed, in taking [the royal authority] upon me, I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws; yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, in that, being in so royal estate as I was, my enforced honour never blended with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I presently stand. My death at hand, although to you, perhaps, it may seem right woful, yet to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure, with Christ our Saviour, in whose steadfast faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father) may the Lord, that hath hitherto strengthened you, so continue to keep you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. I am, your obedient daughter till death,

No. IV.-(p. 305.)

Lady Jane Grey's Letter to her Sister, Lady Katharine, written on the Evening before her Execution, in the end of the Greek New Testament which she sent to Lady Katharine.

"I HAVE here sent you, my dear sister Katharine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, or the curious embroidery of the artfulest needles, yet inwardly is more worth than all the precious mines which the vast world can boast of. It is the book, my only best and best beloved sister, of the law of the Lord; it is the testament and last will which he bequeathed unto us wretches and wretched sinners, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy. And if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, no doubt it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teach you to live and learn you to die; it shall win you more, and endow you with greater felicity, than you should have gained by the possession of our woful father's lands; for as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his honours and manors, so if you apply diligently to this book, seeking to direct your life according to the rule of the same, you shall be an inheritor of such riches as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither the thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire, with David, my best sister, to understand the law of the Lord your God : live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life, and trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for unto God, when he calleth, all hours, times, and seasons are alike, and blessed are they whose lamps are furnished when he cometh, for as soon will the Lord be glorified in the young as in the old.

"My good sister, once more again let me entreat thee to learn to die; deny the world, defy the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself

¹ This, in addition to what is stated in her letter to Queen Mary, and in her dying speech, affords a complete refutation of Dr. Lingard's assertion, that Lady Jane's "contempt of the splendour of royalty, and her reluctant submission to the commands of her parents," are to be considered as the fictions of historians.

² Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi., p. 417.—Nicolas's Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey.

only in the Lord; be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, yet presume not; and desire, with St. Paul, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life.

"Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest, when death cometh and stealeth upon you like a thief in the night, you be, with the servants of darkness, found sleeping; and lest, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish virgins, or like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you be cast into darkness or banished from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I trust you do; and, seeing you have the name of a Christian, as near as you can, follow the steps, and be a true imitator of your Master, Christ Jesus, and take up your cross, lay your sins on his back, and

always embrace him.

"Now, as touching my death, rejoice, as I do, my dearest sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption; for I am assured that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlasting; the which I pray God grant you in his most blessed hour, and send you his all-saving grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith, from which, in God's name, I exhort you that you never swerve, neither for hope of life nor fear of death; for if you will deny his truth to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himself will deny you, and by vengeance make short what you, by your soul's loss, would pro-long; but if you will cleave to him he will stretch forth your days to an uncircumscribed comfort, and to his own glory; to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it shall please him to call you. Farewell, once again, my beloved sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you. Amen.—Your loving sister, "JANE DUDLET."

No. V.-(p. 313.)

Notice of Lady Katharine Grey, sister of Lady Jane Grey.

LADY KATHARINE GREY, after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, became one of her majesty's maids of honour. It was while she was residing in the court that a secret marriage took place between her and the Earl of Hertford. The queen having gone one morning to Eltham to hunt, Lady Katharine, accompanied by Lady Jane Seymour, the Earl of Hert-ford's sister, who was also one of Elizabeth's maids of honour, according to previous concert, left the palace at Westminster by a private door, and proceeded by the sands to the earl's house in Chanon Row. Lady Jane then went for an ecclesiastic, and the parties were married; after which the two ladies returned to the palace, and were in time for dinner. Having consummated his marriage, Lord Hertford, with the queen's permission, travelled into France. It being rumoured in course of time that Lady Katharine was pregnant, the queen was greatly indignant. To soften her majesty's displeasure, Lady Katharine revealed that she had been married; but Elizabeth, who was inexorable, committed her prisoner to the Tower,

¹ Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi., p. 422 .- Nicolas's Literary Remains of Lady Jane Gres.

where she was afterwards delivered of a son. Lord Hertford was summoned home to answer for his misconduct, and having, in like manner, acknowledged the marriage, he too was committed prisoner to the Tower. A commission, of which Archbishop Parker and Bishop Grindal were at the head, having been appointed to investigate the cause, and to decide upon it without appeal, the parties being unable to produce witnesses in attestation of the marriage within the time prescribed, a definite sentence was pronounced, to the effect that their intercourse had been criminal, that their offspring was illegitimate, and that their imprisonment should be continued during the queen's pleasure.

By bribing the keepers, the Earl of Hertford obtained access to Lady Katharine, and the consequence was that she was brought into the same interesting situation as before. This increased Elizabeth's irritation against the parties; and the Earl of Hertford being brought before the Star Chamber under a threefold charge—that he had deflowered a virgin of the blood-royal, broken prison, and repeated his vicious act—was fined £5000 for each of these imputed offences, or £15,000 in all, and kept prisoner for a period of

nine years.

Lady Katharine's friends endeavoured, by repeated letters to Sir William Cecil, to mitigate the queen's resentment. She herself wrote more than once to Cecil, beseeching his friendly interposition, and also sent a petition to the queen, acknowledging her fault in matching without her majesty's consent, and praying for her majesty's forgivenness. But all was in vain. Under the Life of Queen Elizabeth (p. 436) we have attributed the barbarity exercised towards this young lady to that queen's jealousy of all who, being nearly related to the throne, had a chance of one day succeeding her. 1 Another cause probably combined with this. Having, for reasons which historians can only conjecture, doomed herself to a single life, she seems to have envied the married their connubial happiness, and she interdicted marriage when she had the power, and could do so under a plausible pretext. This cruel treatment greatly impaired Lady Katharine's health, drew many bitter tears from her eyes, and, as she expressed herself, made her "rather wish of God shortly to be buried in the faith and fear of him, than in this continual agony to live." "I never came to her," said her uncle, Lord John Grey, in a letter to Cecil, "but I found her either weeping, or else saw by her face she had wept."

She was released from her sufferings by death, in the beginning of the year 1567. A record of "The Manner of her Departing" has been preserved, which exhibits in a very interesting light the pious and amiable spirit of this ill-treated lady. "All the night she continued in prayer, saying of psalms, and hearing them read of others, sometimes saying them after others; and as soon as one psalm was done she would call for another to be said. Divers times she would rehearse the prayers appointed for the visitation of the sick, and five or six times the same night she said the prayers appointed to be said at the hours of death; and when she was comforted by those that were about

I Lady Katharine was, in point of family proximity to the English throne, the third princess of the blood-royal. After Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots was nearest heir. Failing her issue, the next heir was Margaret Douglas (wife of Matthew Stuart, fourth Earl of Lennox), only daughter of Archibald, seventh Earl of Angus, by Margaret, eldext daughter of Henry VII. of England, and sister of Henry VIII. Failing her issue, Lady Katharine Grey came next, as being the descendant of Henry VIII, by his second daughter, Mary.



ing her to draw towards her end, said to Mr. Bockeham, 'Were it not best to send to the church that the bell 1 may be rung, and she herself hearing him [said], 'Good Sir Owen, let it be so.' Then immediately perceiving her end to be near, she entered into prayer, and said, 'O Lord! into thy hands I commend my soul, Lord Jesus receive my spirit,' and so putting down her eyes with her own hands, she yielded unto God her meek spirit, at nine of the clock in the morning, the 27th of January, 1567."

Lady Katharine had to the Earl of Hertford three sons, Edward, who died young; Edward, Lord Beauchamp; and Thomas. "Portraits of Lady Katharine holding her infant son, Edward, Lord Beauchamp, in her arms, are preserved both at Alnwick and at Warwick castles; that at the former

by Hans Holbein."
The validity of the marriage between Lady Katharine and the Earl of Hertford was not established till 1606, when, upon its being tried by a jury. at common law, the ecclesiastic who had united them being produced, and his testimony to the fact being corroborated by other circumstances, the marriage was pronounced good.2

No. VI.-(p. 464.)

Notice of Ladies Anne, Margaret, and Jane Seymour, Daughters of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset.

EDWARD SEYMOUR, Duke of Somerset, had by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope, of Sudbury, in Suffolk, and of Rampton, in Nottinghamshire, six daughters, Anne, Margaret, Jane, Mary, Katharine, and Elizabeth.

The three first, to whom we now limit our attention, were noted for their scholarship in their day. They took their place in the ranks of noble authors by the publication of a Latin poem of a hundred and four distichs, which they composed upon the death of Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre. who died on December 21, 1549; and which they dedicated to Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Berri, sister of Henry II. This poem, or elegy, composed by ladies so young and in high station, attracted attention, and acquired them no inconsiderable reputation among the learned, who pronounced them not less illustrious for the splendour of their genius than for that of their birth. It was so admired, particularly in France, where Margaret, the subject of it, was extremely popular, that it was immediately translated into Greek, French, and Italian, by the most distinguished wits of the French court. The whole, with other verses upon the death of Margaret subjoined, and preceded by addresses eulogistic of the fair authoresses, was printed at Paris, in 1551, under the title, Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre. The book is now rarely to be met with. Nicholas de Herberai, Sieur des Essars, in a preliminary epistle, addressed to the ladies, by a piece of poetic gallantry, supposes them dead, and proposes the following

^{1 &}quot;The Passing Bell. It was rung at the passing from life to death, with the intention that those who heard it should pray for the person dying."

2 Camden's Elizabeth, book 1., pp. 84, 85.—Collins's Peerage of England, Brydges's edit., vol. i., p. 173.—Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. ii., pp. 272-290.



styled it a "Christia distichs."

Anne was married terwards Earl of War who subsequently bee Edward Unton, of W Margaret died unmarr of honour, also died uteen, and was buried i small but neat monus memory by her brother

Maria van Reigersb.

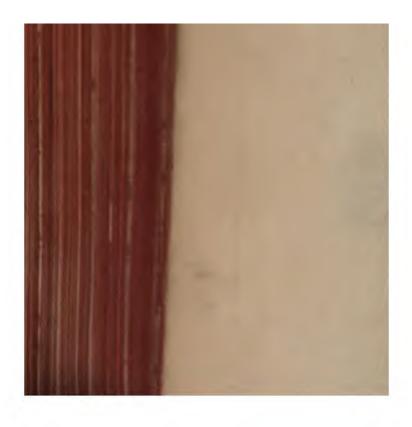
MRS. GROTIUS desired This permission she obta titude, and attentions, s pathetically commemors him, kept under close co to purchase necessaries, assist him in his learned tein he composed comme and the beginning of Jo sages from the Greek po of books were thus brou use of them. At first th but as they were found to the castle and the guards gested to Mrs. Grotius th one of these book-chests. after he had made re

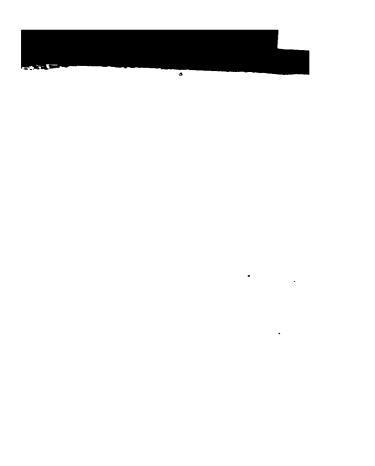
prevent Mr. Grotius from injuring his health by hard study, she wished to send off a large chest loaded with books. The lieutenant's wife, whose favour she had previously conciliated by small presents, at once granted her the desired permission. Grotius having secreted himself in the chest, his wife drew the curtains close around his prison-bed, and placed his clothes on a chair, to convey the impression that he was confined to bed by illness, and bade the soldiers carry away the chest. From the unusual weight of the chest, one of them, on lifting it, exclaimed, "How comes it so heavy? Is there an Arminian in it?" "No," replied Mrs. Grotius, not in the least disconcerted, "only Arminian books." The governor's wife, who did not suspect any strategem, allowed the precious cargo to be carried out of the castle without inspection. This was on the 22d of March, 1621. A faithful maid-servant, named Elsje van Houweningen, to whom Mrs. Grotius had imparted the secret, took charge of the chest, and succeeded in getting it safely conveyed in a boat to Gorcum. On its landing at that place there was, however, some danger of discovery. The skipper and his son having been prevailed upon, at the request of Elsje, though with some difficulty, to carry the chest from the shore to the house she named, instead of drawing it on a sledge, the son observed to the father that there was something alive in it. "Do you hear that?" said the skipper to Elsje. "Yes," she smartly replied, "Books have life and spirit too." So the idea of the chest's containing anything alive was laughed at, and it was brought unopened to the house of a friend, a flax merchant, Abraham Datselaer, where Grotius quitted his place of concealment. To elude detection in his subsequent movements, he dressed himself in the garb of a mason; and carrying with him a rule, trowel, and other implements of the trade, he passed through the marketplace, and, taking boat, was transported without hinderance to Antwerp, whence he proceeded to France. To afford him time to escape, his wife kept up the deception that he was confined to bed from ill health, till, having received the happy tidings that he had got safely beyond the reach of his persecutors, she explained what had taken place. The officer of the castle, enraged at the deception practised upon him, kept her in close custody for a fortnight. But having presented a petition to the States-General on the 5th of April, praying to be released, she was liberated two days after. When her liberation was proposed and discussed, some were unmanly enough to vote for keeping her in prison. Others could not forbear launching forth into high encomiums upon this noble example of conjugal fidelity, and the majority were ashamed to punish a woman for an act which entitled her to universal admiration. Grotius, on proceeding to France after his escape, was graciously received by Louis XIII. He was afterwards employed by Christina, Queen of Sweden, in transacting important affairs connected with her kingdom, and was sent by her as her ambassador into France. Returning from Sweden to his own country in 1645, he fell sick at Rostock, where he died that same year.1

¹ Le Clerc, tom. ii., p. 71.—Leeven van de Groot, bl. 243-251, 270, quoted in Davies's History of Holland, vol. ii., pp. 539-541.









. -



